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volume X

DICAEARCHUS
OF
MESSANA

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND DISCUSSION

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY STUDIES
IN CLASSICAL HUMANITIES

VOLUME 10

WILLIAM W. FORTENBAUGH
ECKART SCHÜTRUMPF
EDITORS



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Professor Trevor J. Saunders
Scholar, Colleague and Friend
1934–1999
In Memoriam

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Preface

This volume is the tenth in the series Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities. The majority of the preceding volumes have been concerned with Theophrastus of Eresus, the pupil of Aristotle and his successor as head of the Peripatetic School. With Volume IX a new direction was taken. We turned our attention to the colleagues and successors of Theophrastus and produced a volume devoted to Demetrius of Phalerum. The volume includes a new edition of the fragments of Demetrius, text and facing translation, as well as essays which discuss issues of special interest. The present volume, no. X, continues this work. It is devoted to Dicaearchus of Messana, who, like Theophrastus, was a pupil of Aristotle. Again the volume includes text, translation and essays. Future volumes will continue this focus. No. XI will be a collection of essays concerning Eudemus of Rhodes. It will be followed by Volume XII on Lyco, Aristo of Ceos and Hieronymus of Rhodes, and by Volume XIII on Heraclides Ponticus. The last two volumes will contain not only essays but also new editions of the fragments.

Earlier versions of the essays appearing in this volume were presented at a conference held at the University of Colorado at Boulder. We are grateful for the space and funding which was provided by the College of Arts and Sciences of the university. In addition, we wish to acknowledge the editorial assistance provided by Jennifer Faulkner of Rutgers University and the preparation of camera ready copy by Diane Smith of Waco, Texas.

One participant in the Boulder conference was Professor Trevor Saunders of Newcastle on Tyne. He had already contributed to Volume VIII on Theophrastus; now a second contribution of his is appearing in this volume on Dicaearchus. Sadly, Trevor died during the interval between the Boulder conference and the publication of this volume. He was a special person: a good scholar, a man of great integrity, always fun to be with and a friend of Project Theophrastus. To his memory we dedicate the edition of Dicaearchus and the several essays contained in this volume.

WWF and ES
September 2000

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Dicaearchus of Messana The Sources, Text and Translation

David C. Mirhady

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INTRODUCTION

The methodology of this collection follows that established in the FHS&G edition of Theophrastean material,¹ beginning with a list of titles of works ascribed to Dicaearchus and continuing with texts relating to his life, writings, thought and influence. Almost without exception, the fundamental criterion for inclusion has been that Dicaearchus is named in the text. This collection also shares many things with that of Wehrli, but the order is significantly different in some areas, and much more contextual material has been included with many of the texts. Moreover, since we have no clear evidence that indicates that Dicaearchus wrote discrete works on divination, Homeric questions, or a collection of sayings, there are no separate sections on these matters.

The list of titles **1** is conceived very broadly to include all passages that describe Dicaearchus' writings, whether or not the description actually constitutes a title. **2-12** deal with Dicaearchus' life and writings. These texts locate him within the Peripatos **5** (cp. **53** for his inclusion in the Academy), as a student of Aristotle **2, 4** and contemporary of Aristoxenus **3**. He was, however, not in agreement with Aristotle on all things **6**. He was a good teacher, citizen and human being **7-8**. Several texts that mention his writings without mentioning doctrine are also included here **9-12**.

Those texts that deal with psychology **13-32** are arranged in such a way that varying understandings of Dicaearchus' doctrine are collected together. (Like other Peripatetics', his views are said to have been at odds with Plato's **13**.) Those texts that portray him as an "eliminativist," as denying the existence of the soul, come first **14-20**, followed by those that see him embracing some sort of "epiphenomenalist" position **21-29**. Whether the soul is characterized as a "harmony" **21A-22**,

¹ *Theophrastus of Eresus: Sources for his Life, Writings, Thought and Influence*. Edited and Translated by William W. Fortenbaugh, Pamela M. Huby, Robert W. Sharples and Dimitri Gutas, et al. Leiden: Brill, 1992.

simply a "quality" or an "arrangement" of the body **23–24**, Dicaearchus is said in all of the sources to have denied the substantiality or causative function of the soul, a point made particularly in **25–26**, so that his position is materialist **27**, like that of the Epicureans **28–29**. On the other hand, and somewhat paradoxically, he is said to recognize a faculty of divination through dreams and madness **30A–31C**, although rejecting the utility of divination **32**.

There is little indication beyond **1 no.5** (*On Lives*) that Dicaearchus actually wrote a discrete work on philosophical biography, but the direction of the texts that deal both with the life of a philosopher in general and with specific philosophers' lives encourages having a section incorporating these matters **33–52**. Dicaearchus is portrayed as advocating a life of action rather than mere contemplation **33–34**, and this theme seems to be maintained throughout these texts, which embrace wisdom only when it has some practical value. Accordingly, Dicaearchus is said to reject impractical ideals with regard to friendship **35**, and to have prized the Seven Wise Men not for their wisdom, but for their practical sense and legislative abilities **36–37**. His discussion of whether the ancient poets and singers were wise appears to belong in this context **39**. The philosophers on whom Dicaearchus appears to have focused were Pythagoras **40–42**, Socrates **43–45** and Plato **46–49**, as well as Plato's students **50–51**. The proverb concerning learning pottery on a wine-jar **44** seems as if it may be related to the description of Socrates **43**.

The largest number of texts in the collection deal with cultural history **53–85**. Most of these stem, or appear to stem, from his *Life of Greece* **53–77**. In that work, Dicaearchus appears to have begun with human origins **53–57** before discussing ancient Egypt **58–59**, Chaldaea **60–61**, and perhaps Media **62**. Several texts that relate to mythical figures and foundation myths of Greek cities are gathered here **63–70**, as is one relating to Italy **71**. Then come texts relating to early musical practices and dancing **72–74** and several relating to historical times, right up to Philip of Macedon **75–77**. Finally, there are grouped a wide range of texts that are ascribed to other works that also seem to relate to cultural history **78–85**.

The smallest section deals with politics **86–88**, although there are several texts that mention titles that are political **9–11C**.

The texts dealing with contests and literary criticism **89–104** indicate Dicaearchus' further interest in music, beyond what appears in **72–74**.

Dicaearchus appears concerned in these texts with the relationship between poetry and wisdom **89, 91**, although he is also interested in issues of performance **93**, textual variations in Homer **94**, and ethical questions in poetry **95**. With regard to dramatic contests, he appears to have been interested in various aspects of the dramatic productions **99–104**. Most of the texts relating to *On Alcaeus* **105–111** derive from a single source and discuss the game of cottabus **105–109**. While two others relate to Alcaeus **110–111**, they do not name the work.

Four texts relate Dicaearchus by name to the massive amount of material contained in the *Hypotheses* or *Summaries* now associated with him, **112–115A**. They appear to consist of only the title and a short plot summary rather than any details of date or production, which he dealt with in other texts (see **99–104**).

The final group of texts deals with geography **116–127**. These touch on the measurement of mountains **118–120**, the sphericity of the earth **121–122**, mapping the Mediterranean **123–125**, the Nile River **126** and tides **127**.

I have received the help of many people in the preparation of this edition. My thanks are due to Tiziano Dorandi, Bill Fortenbaugh, Pamela Huby, Dirk Obbink, Bob Sharples, Diane Smith, Peter Stork, and the Dean of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Calgary. Eckart Schütrumpf organized the conference in Boulder when this project was only just begun and read the entire text through with a keen eye near its completion. To him are owed special thanks.

Tabula inscriptionum

1 Tabula inscriptionum

- 1 Περὶ ψυχῆς] Plutarchus, Adv. Colotem 14 1115A = **13**; Cicero, Ad Atticum 13.32.2 = **11B** (utrosque); Cicero, Ad Atticum 13.33.2 = **11C** (titulum add. Lambinus)
- 2 Sermo Corinthi habitus tribus libris] Cicero, Tusculanae disputationes 1.21 = **19**
- 3 Lesbiaci libri, tres libri] Cicero, Tusculanae disputationes 1.77 = **27**
- 4 Epistula ad Aristoxenum] Cicero, Ad Atticum 13.32.2 = **11B**
- 5 Περὶ βίων] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 3.4 = **47** (ἐν πρώτῳ)
- 6 Antiquitates] Hieronymus, Adv. Jovinianum 2.13 = **56B** (in libris)
- 7a 'Ελλάδος βίος, ἐν βιβλίοις γ'] Suda, s.v. Δικαίαρχος = **2**; Stephanus Byzantius, Ethnica, s.v. Χαλδαῖοι = **60** (ἐν πρώτῳ); Stephanus Byzantius, Ethnica, s.v. Δώριον = **63** (κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον); scholion in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica 4.272–4 = **58** (ἐν α'); scholion in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica 4.276 (ms. L) = app. **59** (ἐν β'); Hypothesis in Euripidis Medeam 25–7 = **62**
- b Περὶ τοῦ τῆς 'Ελλάδος βίου] Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 14.39 636C = **72** (ἐν τοῖς); Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 13.5 557B = **77** (ἐν τρίτῳ)
- c 'Ελληνικὸς βίος] scholion in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica 4.272–4 (ms. P) = **59** (ἐν β'); Varro, De re rustica 1.2.16 = **55** (Graeca Vita)
- d Περὶ τῆς 'Ελλάδος] Zenobius 5.23 = **57** (ἐν τοῖς)
- e 'Αναγραφή τῆς 'Ελλάδος] Codex Parisinus Graecus, Supplementum 443 = **12**
- f Descriptio Graeciae] Hieronymus, Adv. Jovinianum 2.13 = **56B**
- 8a Περὶ τῆς εἰς Τροφωνίου καταβάσεως] Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 13.67 594E = **81** (ἐν τοῖς); cf. Lampriae tabulam librorum Plutarchi 181, ubi eadem inscriptio invenitur

Titles

1 List of titles

- 1 *On the Soul*] Plutarch, *In Reply to Colotes* 14 1115A = **13**; Cicero, *To Atticus* 13.32.2 = **11B** ("both"); Cicero, *To Atticus* 13.33.2 = **11C** (Lambinus added the title)
- 2 Dialogue set at Corinth, 3 books] Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 1.21 = **19**
- 3 *Lesbian Books*, 3 books] Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 1.77 = **27**
- 4 *Letter to Aristoxenus*] Cicero, *To Atticus* 13.32.2 = **11B**
- 5 *On Lives*] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives* 3.4 = **47** ("in the first book")
- 6 *Antiquities*] Jerome, *Against Jovinian* 2.13 = **56B** ("in the books")
- 7a *Life of Greece*, in 3 books] Suda, on *Dicaearchus* = **2**; Stephen of Byzantium, *Place-Names*, on *Chaldaeans* = **60** ("in the first book"); Stephen of Byzantium, *Place-Names*, on *Dorium* = **63** ("according to the first book"); Scholion on Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica* 4.272–4 = **58** ("in book one"); Scholion on Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica* 4.276 (ms. L) = app. **59** ("in book two"); Hypothesis to Euripides' *Medea* = **62**
- b *On the Life of Greece*] Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 14.39 636C = **72** ("in the books"); Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 13.5 557B = **77** ("in the third book")
- c *Greek Life*] Scholion on Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica* 4.272–4 (ms. P) = **58** ("in the second book"); Varro, *On Farming* 1.2.16 = **55** (*Greek Life*)
- d *On Greece*] Zenobius 5.23 = **57** ("in the books")
- e *Description of Greece*] Cod. Parisinus Gr., Supplement 443 = **12**
- f *Description of Greece*] Jerome, *Against Jovinian* 2.13 = **56B**
- 8a *On the Descent into (the Cave) of Trophonius*] Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 13.67 594E = **81** ("in the books"); cf. the Lamprias Catalogue of Plutarch's works 181, where the same title is found

- b Εἰς Τροφωνίου κατάβασις] Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 14.48 641E = **80** (ἐν πρώτῳ)
 c Κατάβασις] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 13.32.2 = **11B** (librum); Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 13.33.2 = **11C**
 d Trophoniana narratio] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 6.2.3 = **79**
- 9 Περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰλίου θυσίας] Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 13.80 603A = **83**
- 10 De interitu hominum, liber] Cicero, *De officiis* 2.16 = **78**
- 11a Πολιτικός σύλλογος, Olympiae habitus] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 13.30.2 = **10**
 b Ὀλυμπικός] Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 14.12 620D = **85**
- 12 Τριπολιτικός] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 13.32.2 = **11B**; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 4.19 141A = **87**
- 13a Πολιτεία Σπαρτιατῶν] Suda, s.v. Δικαίαρχος = **2**
 b Πελληναίων] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 2.2.2 = **9**
 c Κορινθίων] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 2.2.2 = **9**
 d Ἀθηναίων] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 2.2.2 = **9**
- 14 Περὶ Διονυσιακῶν ἀγώνων] Scholion in Aristophanis *Aves* 1403 = **99** (ἐν τῷ)
- 15 Περὶ μουσικῶν ἀγώνων] Suda, s.v. σκολιόν = **89** (ἐν τῷ); scholion in Aristophanis *Nubes* 1364c = **90**, ubi verbum ἀγώνων ab editoribus additum est
- 16 Παναθηναϊκός] Scholion in Aristophanis *Vespas* 544b = **84**
- 17a Ὑποθέσεις τῶν Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους μύθων] Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. mathematicos* 3.3 = **112**; cf. *Hypothesis in Rhesum* = **114**
 b Ὑπόθεσις Ἀλκῆστιδος] *Hypothesis in Euripidis Alcestem* (codex Laurentianus) = **115A**

- b *Descent into (the Cave) of Trophonius*] Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 14.48 641E = **80** ("in the first book")
 c *Descent*] Cicero, *To Atticus* 13.32.2 = **11B** ("the book"); Cicero, *To Atticus* 13.33.2 = **11C**
 d *Trophonian Story*] Cicero, *To Atticus* 6.2.3 = **79**
- 9 *On the Sacrifice at Ilium*] Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 13.80 603A = **83**
- 10 *On Human Destruction*, book] Cicero, *On Duties* 2.16 = **78**
- 11a *Political Dialogue*, (set at Olympia)] Cicero, *To Atticus* 13.30.2 = **10**
 b *Olympic (Dialogue)*] Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 14.12 620D = **85**
- 12 *Three-City (Dialogue)*] Cicero, *To Atticus* 13.32.2 = **11B**; Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 4.19 141A = **87**
- 13a *Constitution of the Spartans*] Suda, on *Dicaearchus* = **2**
 b *(Constitution) of the Pellenaeans*] Cicero, *To Atticus* 2.2.2 = **9**
 c *(Constitution) of the Corinthians*] Cicero, *To Atticus* 2.2.2 = **9**
 d *(Constitution) of the Athenians*] Cicero, *To Atticus* 2.2.2 = **9**
- 14 *On Dionysiac Contests*] Scholion on Aristophanes' *Birds* 1403 = **99** ("in the")
- 15 *On Musical Contests*] Suda, on *skolion* = **89** ("in the"); Scholion on Aristophanes' *Clouds* 1364c = **90**, where the word 'Contests' has been added by the editors
- 16 *Panathenaic (Dialogue)*] Scholion on Aristophanes' *Clouds* 544b = **84**
- 17a *Summaries of the Plots of Euripides and Sophocles*] Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Mathematicians* 3.3 = **112**; cf. *Hypothesis to Rhesus* = **114**
 b *Hypothesis to Alcestis*] *Hypothesis to Euripides' Alcestis* (Laurentian codex) = **115A**

- 18 *Περὶ Ἀλκαίου*] Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 11.4 461A = **105**; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 15.5 667B = **107**; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 15.7 668E = **108** (ἐν τῷ)
 19 *Περίοδος γῆς*] Ioannes Lydus, *De mensibus* 4.107 = **126**
 20 *Tabulae*] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 6.2.3 = **79**
 21 *Καταμετρήσεις τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ὄρων*] Suda, s.v. Δικαίαρχος = **2**

Vita et Scripta

- 2 Suda, s.v. Δικαίαρχος (no. 1062, LG t.1 pars 2 p.93.30–94.4 Adler)

Φειδίου, Σικελιώτης, ἐκ πόλεως Μεσσήνης, Ἀριστοτέλους ἀκουστής, φιλόσοφος καὶ ῥήτωρ καὶ γεωμέτρης. Καταμετρήσεις τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ὄρων, Ἑλλάδος βίον ἐν βιβλίοις γ'. οὗτος ἔγραψε τὴν πολιτείαν Σπαρτιατῶν· καὶ νόμος ἐτέθη ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τὸν λόγον εἰς τὸ τῶν ἑφόρων ἀρχεῖον, τοὺς δὲ τὴν ἡβητικὴν ἔχοντας ἡλικίαν ἀκροῦσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο ἐκράτει μέχρι πολλοῦ.

1 Σικελιώτης: Σικελειώτης AFV Μεσσήνης: Μεσίνης VM 7 ἐκράτει: ἐκράτησε M cp. V

- 3 Suda, s.v. Ἀριστόξενος (no. 3927, LG t.1 pars 1 p.357.12–14 Adler)

γένετο δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν μετέπειτα χρόνων, ὥς εἶναι ἀπὸ τῆς ριᾶ Ὀλυμπιάδος. σύγχρονος Δικαίαρχῳ τῷ Μεσσηνίῳ.

- 4 Anonymus, *Vita Aristotelis Latina* 46–7 (AABT p.157.13–17 Düring)

- 47 et mortuus est in Calchide ... dimisit autem filium Nicomachum et filiam Pithaida, proprios autem discipulos Theofrastum, Phaniam,

- 18 *On Alcaeus*] Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 11.4 461A = **105**; Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 15.5 667B = **107**; Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 15.7 668E = **108** ("in the")
 19 *Circuit of the Earth*] John of Lydia, *On Months* 4.107 = **126**
 20 *Accounts*] Cicero, *To Atticus* 6.2.3 = **79**
 21 *Measurements of the Mountains of the Peloponnesus*] Suda, on *Dicaearchus* = **2**

Life and Writings

- 2 Suda, on *Dicaearchus* (no. 1062, LG v.1 part 2 p.93.30–94.4 Adler)

(Son of) Pheidias, a Sicilian from the city of Messana, a student of Aristotle, philosopher, rhetorician and geometrician. *Measurements of the Mountains in the Peloponnesus*, *Life of Greece* in 3 books. He wrote the *Constitution of the Spartans*, and a law was established in Lacedaemon each year to read the text to the council of ephors, and the young were also to listen. And this was in force for a long time.

- 3 Suda, on *Aristoxenus* (no. 3927, LG v.1 part 1 p.357.12–14 Adler)

(Aristoxenus) lived at the time of Alexander and those following him, so that he was from the 111th Olympiad.¹ A contemporary to Dicaearchus the Messanian.

¹ I.e., c. 332 B.C.

- 4 Anonymous, *Latin Life of Aristotle* 46–7 (AABT p.157.13–17 Düring)

- 47 And (Aristotle) died in Chalcis... He also¹ left behind a son Nicomachus and daughter Pithais, as well as his personal students

Eudimium, Clitum, Aristoxenum et Dicaearchum.

1–3 *Anonymus, Vita Aristotelis Marciana* 196 (p.6.32 et 77.30–2 Gigon) 2
Theophrastus, 10 no.2 FHS&G Phantias, fr. 6 Wehrli 3 *Aristoxenus*, fr. 65
 Wehrli

2 et filiam Pithaida: et alteram (filiam nonnulli) phytiandam c 2–3 *discipulorum*
nomina turbata in multis mss. 3 Dicaearchum: dircatum *a*²: dircum *b*³ alii alia

5 Cicero, *De finibus* 4.79 (BT p.155.7–14 Schiche)

quam illorum tristitiam atque asperitatem fugiens Panaetius nec
 acerbitatem sententiarum nec disserendi spinas probavit fuitque in
 altero genere mitior, in altero illustrior semperque habuit in ore
 Platonem, Aristotelem, Xenocratem, Theophrastum, Dicaearchum,
 ut ipsius scripta declarant. quos quidem tibi studiose et diligenter 5
 tractandos magnopere censeo.

1 *Panaetius*, fr. 55 van Straaten, fr. 79 Alesse 4 *Theophrastus*, 56 FHS&G

6 Themistius, 23 *Sophistes* 285C (BT t.2 p.79.8–12 Schenkel et al.)

Κηφισοδώρους δὲ καὶ Εὐβουλίδας καὶ Τιμαίους (καὶ)
 Δικαιάρχους καὶ στρατὸν ὅλον τῶν ἐπιθεμένων Ἀριστοτέλει τῷ
 Σταγειρίτῃ πότε ἂν καταλέξαιμι εὐπετῶς, ὧν καὶ λόγοι
 ἐξικνοῦνται εἰς τόνδε τὸν χρόνον, διατηροῦντες τὴν ἀπέχθειαν
 καὶ φιλονεικίαν;

1 καὶ *Re* 2 Δικαιάρχους] Δημοχάρεις *Luzac*

7 Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 8.4.1 (BT t.1 p.294.14–16 Shackleton
 Bailey)

Dicaearchum mehercule aut Aristoxenum diceres arcessi,
 non unum hominem omnium loquacissimum et minime aptum

Theophrastus, Phantias, Eudimius, Clitus, Aristoxenus and
 Dicaearchus.

¹ Besides his will and writings.

5 Cicero, *On Ends* 4.79 (BT p.155.7–14 Schiche)

Avoiding their (sc. the Stoics') austerity and roughness, Panaetius
 approved of neither the severity of their opinions nor the thorns of
 their disputation, and in the former he was milder and in the latter
 more lucid, and always had Plato, Aristotle, Xenocrates,
 Theophrastus and Dicaearchus on his lips, as his own writings show.
 And these men especially I strongly recommend you to study at-
 tentively and diligently.

6 Themistius, 23 *Sophist* 285C (BT v.2 p.79.8–12 Schenkel et al.)

I might easily recount men like Cephisodorus¹ and Euboulides²
 and Timaeus³ and Dicaearchus⁴ and a whole army of those who
 have attacked Aristotle the Stagirite. Their words survive into this
 time, maintaining their odium and love of strife.

¹ Cephisodorus, a student of Isocrates, defended his teacher against Aristotle's
 attacks (DH, *De Isoc.* 18); he criticized Aristotle on other grounds also (Athen.
Deipn. 2.56 60D).

² Euboulides of Miletus' attacks on Aristotle are recorded by Athenaeus,
Deipn. 7.50 354C.

³ The hostility of the historian Timaeus toward Aristotle is criticized by
 Polybius, *Histories* 12.11.

⁴ Some have thought that Themistius confused Dicaearchus with Demachares.
 See Huby, p. 312 n.2, in this volume.

7 Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 8.4.1 (BT v.1 p.294.14–16 Shackleton
 Bailey)

By Hercules, you would say that I was summoning Dicaearchus
 or Aristoxenus, not the one man (Dionysius)¹ most garrulous of all

14 Dicaearchus of Messana

ad docendum.

2 non unum hominem *Purser*: novi unum hominem *s*: non unum *EOR*: non unum hominum *bm*

8 Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 2.12.4 (BT t.1 p.69.6–12 Shackleton Bailey)

Dicaearchum recte amas. luculentus homo est et civis haud paulo melior quam isti nostri ἀδικαίαρχοι. . . . καὶ Κικέρων ὁ φιλόσοφος τὸν πολιτικὸν Τίτον ἀσπάζεται.

9 Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 2.2.2 (BT t.1 p.53.21–54.5 Shackleton Bailey)

Πελληναίων in manibus tenebam et hercule magnum acervum Dicaearchi mihi ante pedes extruxeram. o magnum hominem, et unde multo plura didiceris quam de Procilio. Κορινθίων et Ἀθηναίων puto me Romae habere. mihi crede (sed ego te hoc doceo?) mirabilis vir est. Ἡρώδης, si homo esset, eum potius legeret quam unam litteram scriberet.

4 crede (*Lambinus*) (sed scilicet olim) *Shackleton Bailey scripsit*: credes (h̄ēdes *M*, heredes *M*) lege ΩΖ te om. Δ hoc *HNRbds*: h(a)ec *GMm*

10 Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 13.30.2 (BT t.2 p.545.15–16 Shackleton Bailey)

volo aliquem Olympiae aut ubivis habitum πολιτικὸν σύλλογον more Dicaearchi familiaris tui.

1 Olympiae aut ubivis habitum *Schmidt*: Olympia aut ubi visum *codd.*: habitum om. *Shackleton Bailey*

11A Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 13.31.2 (BT t.2 p.546.9–11 Shackleton Bailey)

Dicaearchi quos scribis libros sane velim mi mittas, addas etiam Καταβάσεως.

and least able to teach.

¹ M. Pomponius Dionysius was an ungrateful former teacher of Cicero's son. See also 79 n.2.

8 Cicero, *To Atticus* 2.12.4 (BT v.1 p.69.6–12 Shackleton Bailey)

You are right to like Dicaearchus. He is a splendid human being and a citizen by no means a little better than those *adikaiarchoi* (unjust rulers) of ours.¹ ... And Cicero the philosopher salutes the statesman Titus.

¹ Cicero is referring to the Triumvirs, Caesar, Pompey and Crassus, whose grip on power had shut Cicero out of active political life.

9 Cicero, *To Atticus* 2.2.2 (BT v.1 p.53.21–54.5 Shackleton Bailey)

I was holding in my hands (the constitution) of Pellene and I had piled up an ungodly large heap (of books) of Dicaearchus before my feet. What a great man! You would learn much more from that source than from Procilius.¹ I think I have (his constitutions) of Corinth and Athens at Rome. Believe me, (but am I teaching you this?) the man is a marvel. Herodes,² if he were a (sensible) human being, would rather read him than write a single letter.

¹ From Varro (*LL* 148.154) and Pliny (*NH* 8.4) we learn that Procilius wrote on Roman topography and antiquities.

² Herodes was a mentor of M. Cicero. Apparently he wanted to write about Cicero's consulship.

10 Cicero, *To Atticus* 13.30.2 (BT v.2 p.545.15–16 Shackleton Bailey)

I want to write a sort of political dialogue, set at Olympia or wherever you like, in the manner of your intimate Dicaearchus.

11A Cicero, *To Atticus* 13.31.2 (BT v.2 p.546.9–11 Shackleton Bailey)

Please send me the books of Dicaearchus, about which you wrote, and add the *Descent*.

- 11B Cicero, Ad Atticum 13.32.2 (BT t.2 p.547.16–19 Shackleton Bailey)

Dicaearchi Περὶ ψυχῆς utrosque velim mittas et Καταβάσεως. Τριπολιτικὸν non invenio et epistulam eius, quam ad Aristoxenum misit. tris eos libros maxime nunc vellem, apti essent ad id quod cogito.

2 cf. Joseph., Contra Apionem 1.220 = 70,1 Wehrli

2 et epistolam Victorius: te epistola PA

- 11C Cicero, Ad Atticum 13.33.2 (BT t.2 p.549.14–15 Shackleton Bailey)

Dicaearchi librum accepi et Καταβάσεως exspecto.

1 Περὶ ψυχῆς posuit Lambinus post librum

- 12 Codex Parisinus Graecus, Suppl. 443 (GGM t.1 p.243a19 Müller)

Δικαιάρχου Ἀναγραφή τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

De Anima

- 13 Plutarchus, Adversus Colotem 14 1115A (BT t.6.2 p.189.7–19 Pohlenz et Westman)

καὶ πρῶτόν γε τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ πολυμάθειαν τοῦ φιλο-
σόφου σκεψώμεθα, λέγοντος ὅτι τούτοις τοῖς δόγμασι τοῦ
Πλάτωνος ἐπηκολουθήκασιν Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Ξενοκράτης
καὶ Θεόφραστος καὶ πάντες οἱ Περιπατητικοί. ποῦ γὰρ ὦν τῆς
ἀοικῆτος τὸ βιβλίον ἔγραφε, ἵνα ταῦτα συντιθεῖς τὰ ἐγκλήματα
μὴ τοῖς ἐκείνων συντάγμασιν ἐντύχῃς μηδ' ἀναλάβῃς εἰς χεῖ-
ρας Ἀριστοτέλους τὰ Περὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰ Περὶ ψυχῆς,
Θεοφράστου δὲ τὰ Πρὸς τοὺς φυσικούς, Ἡρακλείδου δὲ τὸν
Ζωροάστρην, τὸ Περὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰδοῦ, τὸ Περὶ τῶν φυσικῶς
ἀπορουμένων, Δικαιάρχου δὲ τὰ Περὶ ψυχῆς; ἐν οἷς πρὸς τὰ
κυριώτατα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν φυσικῶν ὑπεναντιούμενοι τῷ

- 11B Cicero, To Atticus 13.32.2 (BT v.2 p.547.16–19 Shackleton Bailey)

I would like you to send Dicaearchus' two books *On the Soul* and *Descent*. I am not finding the *Three-City*¹ (*Dialogue*) and his letter, which he sent to Aristoxenus. I would like these three books especially now (since) they touch on what I am considering.

¹ Or: *Dialogue on Three Constitutions*, cf. G.J.D. Aalders H. Wzn, *Die Theorie der gemischten Verfassung im Altertum*, Amsterdam 1968, 73 n.5.

- 11C Cicero, To Atticus 13.33.2 (BT v.2 p.549.14–15 Shackleton Bailey)

I have received Dicaearchus' book (*On the Soul*) and am expecting the *Descent*.

- 12 Paris Codex, Greek supplement 443 (GGM v.1 p.243a19 Müller)

Dicaearchus' *Description of Greece*.¹

¹ The work has been shown to be by a Dionysius, son of Kalliphon. See the paper by Keyser in this volume.

Psychology

- 13 Plutarch, In Reply to Colotes 14 1115A (BT v.6.2 p.189.7–19 Pohlenz and Westman)

And first let us consider the carefulness and wide learning of the philosopher (Colotes), when he says that these doctrines of Plato were followed by Aristotle and Xenocrates and Theophrastus and all the Peripatetics. In what uninhabited region did you write the book, so that when you put together these accusations you did not come across their compositions or take into your hands Aristotle's *On Heaven* and *On the Soul*, Theophrastus' *In Reply to the Natural Philosophers*, Heraclides' *Zoroaster*, *On the Underworld*, and *On Difficulties in Natural Philosophy*, and Dicaearchus' *On the Soul*? In these works they are continually at variance with Plato and wrangling (with him) in relation to the greatest and most important mat-

18 Dicaearchus of Messana

Πλάτωνι καὶ μαχόμενοι διατελοῦσι.

1–12 *Theophrastus*, 245 *FHS&G* 4–12 *Heraclides*, fr. 68, 71 *Wehrli*

8 Ἡρακλείδου *Reiske*: ἡρακλείτου *FB*

14 Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.24 (BT p.229.24–5 Pohlenz)

quid de Dicaearcho dicam, qui nihil omnino animum dicat esse?

15 Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.41 (BT p.238.8–17 Pohlenz)

Dicaearchum vero cum Aristoxeno aequali et condiscipulo suo, doctos sane homines, omittamus, quorum alter ne condoluisse quidem umquam videtur, qui animum se habere non sentiat, alter ita delectatur suis cantibus, ut eos etiam ad haec transferre conetur. ὁρμονίαν autem ex intervallis sonorum nosse possumus, quorum varia compositio etiam harmonias efficit pluris, membrorum vero situs et figura corporis vacans animo quam possit harmoniam efficere non video.

3 animum] animam *Wehrli*

16 Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.51 (BT p.243.11–13 Pohlenz)

Dicaearchus quidem et Aristoxenus, quia difficilis erat animi quid aut qualis esset intellegentia, nullum omnino animum esse dixerunt.

1 Dicaearchus: dice archus *X*

17 Cicero, *Academici libri* 2.124 (BT p.89.19–21 Plasberg)

tenemusne, quid sit animus? ubi sit? denique sitne an, ut Dicaearcho visum est, ne sit quidem ullus?

1 an *Lambinus*: aut *AB* 1–2 Dicaearcho *A*²*NB*²: dicet archo *B*¹: dicect *A*¹

tern in natural philosophy.

14 Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 1.24 (BT p.229.24–5 Pohlenz)

What shall I say about Dicaearchus, who says that the mind is nothing at all?

15 Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 1.41 (BT p.238.8–17 Pohlenz)

But let's ignore Dicaearchus, with his contemporary and fellow-student Aristoxenus, even though they were learned men. The one appears never to have felt grief, since he was not aware he had a soul;¹ the other is so pleased by his own songs that he tries to apply them even to (philosophy). Certainly we can recognize the *harmonia* resulting from the intervals of tones: their varying arrangement creates a greater number of musical modes. But I do not see what harmony the positioning of the limbs and the shape of the body, void of soul,¹ can create.

¹ Cicero here uses the masculine form, *animus*, which is translated “mind” elsewhere. See the paper of Sharples, p. 148 n.22, in this volume.

16 Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 1.51 (BT p.243.11–13 Pohlenz)

Indeed, since it was difficult to comprehend what the mind was or what sort of thing it was, Dicaearchus and Aristoxenus said that there was no mind at all.

17 Cicero, *Academics* 2.124 (BT p.89.19–21 Plasberg)

Do we grasp what the mind is? Where it is? Finally, does it exist or is it really not anything, as it appeared to Dicaearchus?

- 18 Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrrhoniae hypotyposes* 2.31 (BT t.1 p.71.28–72.2 Mutschmann et Mau)

ὅτι δὲ ἀκατάληπτός ἐστιν αὕτη, δῆλον ἐντεῦθεν· τῶν περὶ ψυχῆς διαλαβόντων, ἵνα τὴν πολλὴν καὶ ἀνήνυτον μάχην παραλίπωμεν, οἱ μὲν μὴ εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἔφασαν, ὡς οἱ περὶ τὸν Μεσσήνιον Δικαίαρχον, οἱ δὲ εἶναι, οἱ δὲ ἐπέσχον.

1 ἐντεῦθεν *om. EAB* 4 Μεσσήνιον: μεσήνιον *G*: messanensem *T*

- 19 Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.21 (BT p.228.2–15 Pohlenz)

Dicaearchus autem in eo sermone, quem Corinthi habitum tribus libris exponit, doctorum hominum disputantium primo libro multos loquentes facit; duobus Pherecratem quendam Phthiotam senem, quem ait a Deucalione ortum, disserentem inducit, nihil esse omnino animum et hoc esse nomen totum inane frustraue animalia et animantes appellari, neque in homine inesse animum vel animam nec in bestia, vimque omnem eam, qua vel agamus quid vel sentiamus, in omnibus corporibus vivis aequabiliter esse fusam nec separabilem a corpore esse, quippe quae nulla sit, nec sit quicquam nisi corpus unum et simplex, ita figuratum, ut temperatione naturae vigeat et sentiat.

1 Dicaearchu: dice archus *KRV*: dicae arcus *G*^h 4–5 omnino animum] animum omnino *K*

- 20 Atticus Platonius, fr. 7.9–10 (CB p.63.16–20 des Places) = Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 15.9.10

οὐ γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ, φησὶν, ἀλλ' ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐστὶν ὁ τούτων
10 ἕκαστον ἐνεργῶν, ἡ ψυχὴ δ' ἀκίνητος οὕτως. τοιγαροῦν ἐπόμενος Δικαίαρχος, καὶ τ' ἀκόλουθον ἱκανὸς ὦν θεωρεῖν, ἀνήρηκε τὴν ὅλην ὑπόστασιν τῆς ψυχῆς.

1 Aristoteles, *De anima* 1.4 408b13–15 3–4 cf. Plutarchus, *De lib. et aegr.* 5 54.18–19

1 φησὶν *ID*: φασὶν *OVN* 2 ἀκίνητος οὕτως. τοιγαροῦν *codd.*: ἀκίνητος. τούτῳ γὰρ ἐπόμενος *Stephanus*

- 18 Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* 2.31 (BT v.1 p.71.28–72.2 Mutschmann and Mau)

That it (the soul) is non-apprehensible is clear from the following: of those who have taken up discussion concerning the soul—so that we may avoid the long and endless battle—some said that there is no soul, like those associated with the Messanian Dicaearchus, others (have said) that there is (a soul), and others have withheld (judgment).

- 19 Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 1.21 (BT p.228.2–15 Pohlenz)

However, in the first book of the dialogue, which is set in Corinth in three books, Dicaearchus has many of the learned men who are in debate speak. In the (other) two (books) he introduces a certain Pherecrates, an old man from Phthia who, he says, was descended from Deucalion. (Pherecrates) argues that the *animus* (mind) is nothing at all, that the term is entirely empty and that it is pointless to use the terms *animalia* (animate creatures) and *animantes* (ensouled creatures). There is neither in man, an *animus* (mind) or *anima* (soul), nor in a beast. All the force by which we do or feel anything is spread equally in all living bodies. It is inseparable from the body, for it is nothing (by itself) nor is there anything except a body, single and plain, so configured that it has strength and feeling by means of a natural blending.

- 20 Atticus the Platonist, fr. 7.9–10 (CB p.63.16–20 des Places) = Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospels* 15.9.10

For it is not the soul, says (Aristotle), but the man that actualizes each of these (mental processes), and the soul is in this way unmoved. Dicaearchus followed accordingly, and since he was competent at observing what was entailed (sc. in Aristotle's view), he rejected the entire existence of the soul.

21A Nemesius, *De natura hominis* 2 (BT p.17.1–10 Morani)

Θαλῆς μὲν γὰρ πρῶτος τὴν ψυχὴν ἔφησεν ἀεικίνητον καὶ αὐτοκίνητον, Πυθαγόρας δὲ ἀριθμὸν ἑαυτὸν κινεῖν, Πλάτων δὲ οὐσίαν νοητὴν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς κινητὴν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἑναρμόνιον, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐντελέχειαν πρῶτην σώματος φυσικοῦ, ὁργανικοῦ, δυνάμει ζῶν ἔχοντος, Δικαίαρχος δὲ ἁρμονίαν τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων ἀντὶ τοῦ κρᾶσιν καὶ συμφωνίαν τῶν στοιχείων. οὐ γὰρ τὴν ἐκ τῶν φθόγων συνισταμένην, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ σώματι θερμῶν καὶ ψυχρῶν καὶ ὑγρῶν καὶ ξηρῶν ἑναρμόνιον κρᾶσιν καὶ συμφωνίαν βούλεται λέγειν. δῆλον δὲ ὅτι καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὴν ψυχὴν οὐσίαν εἶναι λέγουσιν. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ Δικαίαρχος ἀνούσιον.

1–6 [Plutarchus], *De placitis philosophorum* 4.2.5 898B–C (BT t.5.2.1 p.115.11–20 Mau) et Stobaeus, *Anthologium* 1.49.1a (t.1 p.318.19–320.3 Wachsmuth), quibus locis nomen Dicaearchi in codd. legitur; Theodoretus, *Graecarum affectionum curatio* 5.18 (BT p.126.22–127.4 Raedner) ubi tamen nomen Clearnchi legitur 1 Thales, FVS 11A22a 2 Platon, cf. *Timaeus* 43a 3 Aristoteles, *De anima* 2.1 412a27 5 Hermias, *Irrisio gentilium philosophorum* 2 (DG p.651.13 Diels), quo loco nomen Dicaearchi pro nomine Deinarchi inseruit Diels

5 et 11 Δικαίαρχος Matthaei: Δείναρχος codd. et Morani 6–7 ἀντὶ τοῦ—στοιχείων BDP Alf. arm.: om. KF 9 κρᾶσιν] τάξιν K

21B Nemesius, *De natura hominis* 2 (BT p.22.19–22 Morani)

ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ Δικαίαρχος ἁρμονίαν ὥριστο τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ Σιμμίας ἀντιλέγων τῷ Σωκράτει τὴν ψυχὴν ἁρμονίαν ἔφασκεν εἶναι, λέγων εἰσέκειναι τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν ἁρμονίαν τὸ δὲ σῶμα λύρα, ἐκθετέον τὰς λύσεις τούτου τὰς ἐν τῷ Φαίδωνι Πλάτωνος κειμένας.

4 Platon, *Phaedo* 91E et 93A

1 Δικαίαρχος: Δείναρχος codd. et Morani

22 Meletius, *De natura hominis, De anima* (Anecdota Graeca Oxon. t.3 p.145.3–11 Cramer)

Δικαίαρχος δὲ ἁρμονίαν ὥριστο τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι καὶ λύραν

21A Nemesius, *On Human Nature* 2 (BT p.17.1–10 Morani)

First, Thales said the soul was ever moving and self-moving: Pythagoras (said it was) number moving itself; Plato (said that it was) mental substance moved of itself in harmony according to number; Aristotle (said that it was the) first actuality of a natural, organic body, having life potentially. Dicaearchus¹ (said that it was) a harmony of the four elements, meaning by this the mixture and concord of the elements. For he does not mean the (harmony) created from sounds, but rather the harmonious mixture and concord in the body of hot, cold, wet and dry (constituents). It is clear that the others say that the soul is a substance, but Aristotle and Dicaearchus (say that it is) non-substantial.

¹ In both instances where the name “Dicaearchus” appears in this text, the manuscripts actually say “Deinarchus.” Theodoretus, who provides a parallel text, gives the name as “Clearnchus,” while [Plutarch] and Stobaeus give “Dicaearchus.” See the paper of Sharples, p.145–6 n.10, in this volume.

21B Nemesius, *On Human Nature* 2 (BT p.22.19–22 Morani)

Since Dicaearchus¹ defined the soul as a harmony and Simmias, when contradicting Socrates, asserted that the soul was a harmony, saying that the soul was like a harmony and the body like a lyre, it is necessary to set out (Socrates’) solutions, which are in Plato’s *Phaedo*.

¹ As in 21A, the manuscripts of this text actually say “Deinarchus.”

22 Meletius, *On Human Nature, On the Soul* (Anecdota Graeca Oxon. v.3 p.145.3–11 Cramer)

Dicaearchus defined the soul as a harmony and the body as a

τὸ σῶμα· ἀλλ' ἡ ἁρμονία ἐπιδέχεται τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον, τῷ χαλᾶσθαι καὶ ἐπιτείνεσθαι· ψυχὴ δὲ ψυχῆς οὐκ ἔστι μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αὐτὴ ἐαυτῆς· οὐκ ἄρα ἁρμονία ἡ ψυχὴ. ἔτι ἡ ψυχὴ ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν ἐπιδέχεται καὶ ἁρμονία εὐαρμοστίαν καὶ ἀναρμοστίαν οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται, οὐκ ἄρα ἡ ψυχὴ ἁρμονία· ἔτι ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ ἐπιδέχεσθαι τὰ ἐναντία παρὰ μέρος, οὐσία ἐστὶ καὶ ὑποκείμενον· ἡ δὲ ἁρμονία ποιότης, καὶ ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ· οὐκ ἄρα ἁρμονία ἡ ψυχὴ.

1 Δικαίρχος: Δείναρχος *codd. et Cramer* 5 ἁρμονία: ἁρμονίαν *Cramer*

- 23 Iamblichus, *De anima* ap. Stobaeum, *Anthologium* 1.49.32 (t.1 p.366.25–367.9 Wachsmuth)

τινὲς μὲν τῶν Ἀριστοτελικῶν αἰθέριον σῶμα τὴν ψυχὴν τίθενται· ἕτεροι δὲ τελειότητα αὐτὴν ἀφορίζονται κατ' οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ σώματος, ἣν ἐντελέχειαν καλεῖ Ἀριστοτέλης, ὥσπερ δὴ ἐν ἐνίοις Θεόφραστος, ἡ τὸ ἀπογεννώμενον ἀπὸ τῶν θειοτέρων γενῶν ὅλων, ὥσπερ ἂν τις νεωτερίσειεν ἐν ταῖς ἐπινοίαις· ἡ τὸ συγκεκραμένον τοῖς σώμασιν, ὥσπερ οἱ Στωικοὶ λέγουσιν· ἡ τὸ τῇ φύσει συμμεμιγμένον ἡ τὸ τοῦ σώματος ὄν ὥσπερ τὸ ἐψυχῶσθαι, αὐτῇ δὴ μὴ παρὸν τῇ ψυχῇ ὅπως οὖν ὑπάρχειν, οἷα δὴ λέγεται περὶ ψυχῆς παρὰ Δικαίρχῳ τῷ Μεσσηνίῳ.

3 Theophrastus, 269 *FHS&G* 6–8 Plutarchus, *De lib. et aegr.* 5 54.12–13

3 ἐντελέχειαν *Heeren*: ἐνδελέχειαν *FP* 8 ἐψυχῶσθαι *Wachsmuth*: ἐμψυχῶσθαι *FP* δὴ *Wachsmuth*: δὲ *FP* ὅπως οὖν *proposuit Wachsmuth*: ὥσπερ *FP* ὑπάρχειν *Wachsmuth*: ὑπάρχον *FP*

- 24 Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos* 7.348–9 (t.2 p.80.6–12 Mutschmann)

ἐχρῆν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν, εἴπερ διακριτικὴ ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς καὶ τοῦ ψεύδους, πολλῷ πρότερον τῇ ἐαυτῆς φύσει συνεπιβάλλειν δι' ἣν, οὐσία τῇ ἐξ ἧς ἐστὶ, τόπῳ τῷ ἐν ᾧ πέφυκε, τοῖς
349 ἄλλοις ἅπασιν. οὐ πάνυ δέ γε τὰ τοιαῦτα συννοῶν δύναται, εἴγε οἱ μὲν μηδὲν φασιν εἶναι αὐτὴν παρὰ τὸ πῶς ἔχον σῶμα, καθάπερ ὁ Δικαίρχος, οἱ δὲ εἶναι μὲν ἔλεξαν, οὐκ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ

lyre. But harmony allows the more and less by slackening and tightening; and soul is not more and less than soul; but it is also not (more or less) than itself, so soul is not a harmony. Moreover, soul allows excellence and badness, and harmony does not allow harmoniousness and non-harmoniousness, so soul is not a harmony. Moreover, by allowing opposites in turn soul is a substance and subject. But harmony is a quality and (it is) in a subject; so soul is not a harmony.

- 23 Iamblichus, *On the Soul*, in Stobaeus, *Anthology* 1.49.32 (v.1 p.366.25–367.9 Wachsmuth)

Some of the Aristotelians suppose that the soul is a body made of ether; others define it as perfection in accordance with the substance of the divine body, which Aristotle calls 'actuality'—so, in some places, Theophrastus—or the product of all the more divine kinds, as if modernising their notions; or (they say that it) is what is mixed with bodies, just as the Stoics say, or (that it is) what is blended by nature, or (that it is) the (quality) of the body like 'having been ensouled', it not actually being possible for the soul itself to exist in any way at all, which are the sorts of things said about the soul by Dicaearchus the Messanian.

- 24 Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Professors* 7.348–9 (v.2 p.80.6–12 Mutschmann)

If it is capable of distinguishing truth and falsity, the mind must much earlier be aware of its own nature by which [it exists], the substance out of which it exists, the place where it naturally exists and all the rest. But it cannot comprehend such things at all, if
349 indeed some, such as Dicaearchus, say that there is no mind beyond body in a certain state, while others agree that it exists, but



δὲ τόπῳ περιέχεσθαι.

5 cf. Plutarchus, *De lib. et aegr.* 5 54.15

1 διακριτική: διακριτικόν ζ 2-3 φύσει συνεπιβάλλειν-φ codd.: φύσει ἐπιβάλλειν, συνεπιβάλλειν δὲ τῇ οὐσίᾳ, ἐξ ἧς ἐστι, τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ Kayser 3 δι' ἣν οὐσίᾳ Gen.: διονουσία NEL: δι' ὃν οὐσίᾳ ζ 4 τὰ om. ζ 5 εἶναι φασιν N 6 ἔλεξαν NLE: ἔλεγον ζ 7 τόπῳ ζ: τούτῳ NLE

- 25 Tertullianus, *De anima* 15.1-3 (CC Series latina, pars 2 p.801.4-17 Waszink)

in primis an sit aliqui summus in anima gradus vitalis et sapientialis, quod ἡγεμονικόν appellant, id est principale, quia si negetur, totus animae status periclitatur. denique qui negant
2 principale, ipsam prius animam nihil censuerunt. Messenius aliqui Dicaearchus, ex medicis autem Andreas et Asclepiades, ita
3 abstulerunt principale, dum in animo ipso volunt esse sensus, quorum vindicatur principale ... sed plures et philosophi adversus Dicaearchum, Plato, Strato, Epicurus, Democritus, Empedocles, Socrates, Aristoteles et medici ...

7-8 adversus Dicaearchum] adverdi cae arcum A 9 Socrates] Xenocrates Diels

- 26 Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Categorias* 8b25 (CAG t.8 p.216.12-15 Kalbfleisch)

οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑρετρίας ἀνῆρουν τὰς ποιότητας ὡς οὐδαμῶς ἐχούσας τι κοινὸν οὐσιῶδες, ἐν δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστα καὶ συνθέτοις ὑπαρχούσας. καὶ Δικαίάρχος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας τὸ μὲν ζῶον συνεχώρει εἶναι, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν ἀνῆρει.

3 δὲ om. A

- 27 Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.77 (BT p.256.23-7 Pohlenz)

acerrime autem deliciae meae Dicaearchus contra hanc immortalitatem disseruit. is enim tres libros scripsit, qui Lesbiaci vocantur

not that it is contained in the same place.¹

¹That is, some say that it exists outside the body while others say it exists throughout the entire body.

- 25 Tertullian, *On the Soul* 15.1-3 (CC Latin Series, part 2 p.801.4-17 Waszink)

In particular, (there is the question) whether there is some highest level in the soul pertaining to life and wisdom, which they call "hegemonic," i.e., ruling, since if it be denied, the whole status of the soul is in jeopardy. In short, those who deny that there is a ruling part (of the soul) have first determined that the soul itself is
2 nothing. A certain Messanian, Dicaearchus, and of the physicians Andreas and Asclepiades, rejected the ruling part in this way, while they want the senses, whose ruling part it is claimed to be, to be in
3 the mind itself ... But most, including the philosophers, are against Dicaearchus: Plato, Strato, Epicurus, Democritus, Empedocles, Socrates, Aristotle, and of the physicians ...

- 26 Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Categories* 8b25 (CAG v.8 p.216.12-15 Kalbfleisch)

The Eretrians¹ rejected the qualities on the grounds that they have nothing substantial in common at all, but exist in things that are particulars and compounds. For the same reason Dicaearchus agreed that the "living creature" exists, but rejected its cause, soul.

¹Founded by Menedemus (D.L. 2.125-44), the Eretrians represented a continuation of the school of Elis.

- 27 Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 1.77 (BT p.256.23-7 Pohlenz)

But my favourite, Dicaearchus, has written most incisively against this immortality (of the mind). For he wrote three books,

quod Mytilenis sermo habetur, in quibus volt efficere animos esse mortales.

- 28 [Galenus], *De historia philosophica* 24 (DG p.613.14–16 Diels)

Θνητὴν μὲν ψυχὴν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος καὶ Δικαίαρχος ᾤθησαν, ἀθάνατον δὲ Πλάτων καὶ οἱ Στωικοί.

¹ Δικαίαρχος *Camerarius*: Δίαρχος AB: Diocles N (*versio Latina*)

- 29 Lactantius, *Institutiones divinae* 7.13.7 (CSEL t.19 pars 1 sec.2 p.627.1–9 Brandt)

falsa est ergo Democriti et Epicuri et Dicaearchi de animae dissolutione sententia. qui profecto non auderent de interitu animarum mago aliquo praesente disserere, qui sciret certis carminibus cieri ab inferis animas et adesse et praebere se humanis oculis videndas et loqui et futura praedicere, et si auderent, re ipsa et documentis praesentibus vincerentur. sed quia non pervidebant animae rationem, quae tam subtilis est, ut oculos humanae mentis effugiat, interire dixerunt.

^{1–2} Zeno Veronensis, *Tractatus* 1.2.4 (CCSL t.22 p.15.27–9 Löfstedt)

⁶ rationem: ratione H

- 30A [Galenus], *De historia philosophica* 105 (DG p.639.27–9 Diels)

Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Δικαίαρχος τοὺς ὀνείρους εἰσάγουσιν, ἀθάνατον μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν οὐ νομίζοντες, θείου δὲ τινος μετέχειν.

¹ Δικαίαρχος *Diels*: Δίαρχος *codd.* ² νομίζοντες: νομίζονται B

- 30B [Plutarchus], *De placitis philosophorum* 5.1 904E (BT t.5.2.1 p.134.1–3 Mau)

Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Δικαίαρχος τὸ κατ' ἐνθουσιασμὸν μόνον παρεισάγουσι καὶ τοὺς ὀνείρους, ἀθάνατον μὲν εἶναι οὐ νομίζοντες τὴν ψυχὴν, θείου δὲ τινος μετέχειν αὐτήν.

¹ Aristoteles, cf. *Parva naturalia* = *De divinatione in somno* 2 463b14–16

which are called 'Lesbian' because the dialogue is set at Mytilene, in which he wishes to show that minds are mortal.

- 28 Pseudo-Galen, *History of Philosophy* 24 (DG p.613.14–16 Diels)

Epicurus and Dicaearchus¹ thought that the soul was mortal, but Plato and the Stoics (thought it was) immortal.

¹ The name "Dicaearchus" has been restored from "Diarchos."

- 29 Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 7.13.7 (CSEL v.19 part 1 sec.2 p.627.1–9 Brandt)

Therefore the view of Democritus and Epicurus and Dicaearchus concerning the dissolution of the soul is false. They would not dare to discuss the perishing of souls in the presence of some magician, who knew that souls are summoned from the underworld by specific charms and come to us and present themselves to be seen by human eyes and speak and predict future events—and if they dared, they would be defeated by the fact itself and the proofs there before them. But since they did not succeed in seeing the make-up of the soul, which is so fine that it escapes the eyes of the human mind, they said that it perished.

- 30A Pseudo-Galen, *History of Philosophy* 105 (DG p.639.27–9 Diels)

Aristotle and Dicaearchus¹ admit dreams, not because they think that the soul is immortal, but that it shares something divine.

¹ The name "Dicaearchus" has been restored from "Diarchus."

- 30B Pseudo-Plutarch, *On the Opinions of the Philosophers* 5.1 904E (BT v.5.2.1 p.134.1–3 Mau)

Aristotle and Dicaearchus admit only that (sort of divination) that is according to inspiration and dreams, since they do not believe the soul to be immortal but that it shares in something divine.

31A Cicero, *De divinatione* 1.5 (BT p.4.11–13 Giomini)

Dicaearchus Peripateticus cetera divinationis genera sustulit, somniorum et furoris reliquit.

31B Cicero, *De divinatione* 1.113 (BT p.65.3–7 Giomini)

nec vero umquam animus hominis naturaliter divinat, nisi cum ita solutus est et vacuus, ut ei plane nihil sit cum corpore, quod aut vatibus contingit aut dormientibus. itaque ea duo genera a Dicaearcho probantur et ut dixi¹ a Cratippo nostro.

¹ I.e., in *De div.* 1.5.

31C Cicero, *De divinatione* 2.100 (BT p.124.25–125.3 Giomini)

haec me Peripateticorum ratio magis movebat et veteris Dicaearchi et eius qui nunc floret Cratippi, qui censent esse in mentibus hominum tamquam oraculum aliquod, ex quo futura praesentiant, si aut furore divino incitatus animus aut somno relaxatus solute moveatur ac libere.

¹ haec Giomini: ac V

32 Cicero, *De divinatione* 2.105 (BT p.127.2–4 Giomini)

at nostra interest scire ea quae eventura sint. magnus Dicaearchi liber est, nescire ea melius esse quam scire.

¹ scire] scire ex scribere V

De Vita Philosophica

33 Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 2.16.3 (BT t.1 p.74.5–12 Shackleton Bailey)

nunc prorsus hoc statui, ut quoniam tanta controversia est Dicaearcho familiari tuo cum Theophrasto amico meo, ut ille tuus

31A Cicero, *On Divination* 1.5 (BT p.4.11–13 Giomini)

Dicaearchus the Peripatetic rejected all the other forms of divination, but left those from dreams and madness.

31B Cicero, *On Divination* 1.113 (BT p.65.3–7 Giomini)

Indeed, the human mind never divines naturally, except when it is so loosened and empty that it has absolutely nothing to do with the body, which occurs to either mantics or dreamers. And so two kinds (of divination) are approved by Dicaearchus and by our Cratippus, as I said.¹

¹ In *On Divination* 1.5, above (following our excerpt), Cicero also identifies Cratippus' views with those of Dicaearchus.

31C Cicero, *On Divination* 2.100 (BT p.124.25–125.3 Giomini)

This reasoning of the Peripatetics used to move me somewhat, that of Dicaearchus of old and Cratippus, who is popular now. They think there is in the minds of men, as it were, some oracle, from which they foresee future events, if either the soul is excited by a divine madness or if it is relaxed by sleep and moved loosely and freely.

32 Cicero, *On Divination* 2.105 (BT p.127.2–4 Giomini)

But (the Stoics say) it matters to us to know what will happen. There is a large book of Dicaearchus, (which says) it is better not to know these things than to know (them).

Philosophical Biography

33 Cicero, *To Atticus* 2.16.3 (BT v.1 p.74.5–12 Shackleton Bailey)

At present I have fully resolved, that, since the controversy between your intimate Dicaearchus and my friend Theophrastus is so

τὸν πρακτικὸν βίον longe omnibus anteponat, hic autem τὸν θεωρητικόν, utrique a me mos gestus esse videatur. puto enim me Dicaearcho adfatim satis fecisse; respicio nunc ad hanc familiam quae mihi non modo ut requiescam permittit sed reprehendit quia non semper quierim.

2 Theophrastus, 481 FHS&G

34 Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 7.3.1 (BT t.1 p.246.24–247.6 Shackleton Bailey)

ac primum illud, in quo te Dicaearcho adsentiri negas, etsi cupidissime expetitur a me est et te approbante, ne diutius anno in provincia essem, tamen non est nostra contentione perfectum: sic enim scito, verbum in senatu factum esse numquam de ullo nostrum, qui provincias obtinuimus, quo in iis diutius quam ex senatus consulto maneremus, ut iam ne istius quidem rei culpam sustineam, quod minus diu fuerim in provincia, quam fortasse fuerit utile.

1 cf. *Cic. Ad Att.* 7.1

2 est Wisenberg: sit Ω et om. H te approbante HC: ap- NORM: ap- te δ

35 Plutarchus, *Quaestiones convivales* 4 Praef. 659E–660A (BT t.4 p.117.6–16 Hubert)

τοῦ Πολυβίου Σκηπίωνι παραινούντος Ἀφρικανῶ μὴ πρότερον ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἀπελθεῖν ἢ φίλον τινὰ ποιήσασθαι τῶν πολιτῶν, φίλον δεῖ μὴ πικρῶς μηδὲ σοφιστικῶς ἀκούειν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἀμετάπτωτον καὶ βέβαιον, ἀλλὰ κοινῶς τὸν εὖνον· ὥσπερ ᾤετο χρῆναι Δικαίαντα εὖνον μὲν αὐτῷ παρασκευάζειν ἅπαντας, φίλους δὲ ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς. φιλία γὰρ ἐν χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ δι' ἀρετῆς ἀλώσιμον· εὖνοια δὲ καὶ χρεῖα καὶ ὁμιλία καὶ παιδιᾷ πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπάγεται, καιρὸν λαβοῦσα πειθοῦς φιλανθρώπου καὶ χάριτος συνεργόν.

3 cf. [Arist.], *MM* 2.11 1209b12

great that that man of yours puts the active life far ahead of all others, while this (friend of mine prefers) the contemplative life, I may appear to practise the rule of both. For I think that I have sufficiently satisfied Dicaearchus; now I am looking back toward this school (the Epicurean), which not only permits me to be at leisure, but criticizes (me) since I have not always been at rest.

34 Cicero, *To Atticus* 7.3.1 (BT v.1 p.246.24–247.6 Shackleton Bailey)

But first on that point in which you claim not to agree with Dicaearchus: even if it was sought most desirously by me, with your approval, not to be in a province longer than a year,¹ nevertheless it was not brought about through my own effort; for you should know that no word was ever said in the senate concerning any of us who got provinces, that we should stay in them longer than was commanded by the senate, so that now I should take no blame for that business of yours because I was in the province less long than might have been useful.

¹ Cicero was governor in Cilicia from summer 51 to summer 50.

35 Plutarch, *Table Talk* 4 Pref. 659E–660A (BT v.4 p.117.6–16 Hubert)

When Polybius advises Scipio Africanus not to leave the marketplace before having made a friend of one of the citizens, one must not understand “friend” narrowly and pedantically as unfailing and sure, but more widely, as someone with goodwill, just as Dicaearchus thought it necessary to make all people well disposed to oneself, but to make the good people one’s friends. For friendship is won over great time and through virtue; but goodwill comes about through business, social contact and cultural gatherings with people in the city, when one takes the opportunity for benevolent persuasion and sharing favors.

- 36 Codex Vaticanus 435, Πλουτάρχου ἢ Κεκιλίου ἀποφθέγματα Ῥωμαϊκά (Hermes t.27 [1892] p.119.37–120.26 Arnim)

οὐκ ἐβούλοντο οἱ παλαιοὶ Ῥωμαίων, ὃ Σήβωσε ἀνδρῶν ἄριστε, σοφοὶ εἶναι δοκεῖν, ὅθεν οὐδὲ ἐθήρων τὴν δόξαν δεινότητι λόγων ἢ περιττοῖς καὶ πιθανοῖς ἀποφθέγμασιν, οἷς ἐχρήσαντο Ἑλλήνων τινές, ἃ διαβεβόηται χρησμάτων εἶναι δοκοῦντα ἤδη πιστότερα, μηδὲν ἄγαν, καὶ ἔπου θεῶ, καὶ χρόνων φείδου, καὶ γνῶθι σαυτὸν, καὶ ἐγγύα πάρα δ' ἄτα καὶ ἄλλα τούτοις εὐκότα, ἴσως μὲν καὶ ὠφέλιμα τοῖς πειθομένοις, ἔχοντα δέ τι ἐν τῷ βραχεῖ τῆς ἀποδόσεως ἡδὺ καὶ προσκλητικόν. Δικαιάρχῳ δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα σοφῶν εἶναι ἀνδρῶν δοκεῖ, μὴ γὰρ δὴ γε τοὺς πάλαι λόγῳ φιλοσοφεῖν. ἀλλ' εἶναι τὴν σοφίαν τότε γοῦν ἐπιτήδευσιν ἔργων καλῶν, χρόνῳ δὲ λόγων ὀχλικῶν γενέσθαι τέχνην. καὶ νῦν μὲν τὸν πιθανῶς διαλεχθέντα μέγαν εἶναι δοκεῖν φιλόσοφον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πάλαι χρόνοις ὁ ἀγαθὸς μόνος ἦν φιλόσοφος, εἰ καὶ μὴ περιβλέπτους καὶ ὀχλικοὺς ἀσκοῖτο λόγους. οὐ γὰρ ἐζήτουν ἐκεῖνοί γε εἰ πολιτευτέον οὐδὲ πῶς, ἀλλ' ἐπολιτεύοντο αὐτοὶ καλῶς, οὐδὲ εἰ χρὴ γαμεῖν, ἀλλὰ γήμαντες ὃν δεῖ τρόπον γαμεῖν ταῖς γυναιξὶ συνεβίων. ταῦτα ἦν, φησὶν, ἔργα ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα σοφῶν, αἱ δὲ ἀποφθέξεις αὐταὶ πρᾶγμα φορτικόν. τοιούτους πείθομαι καὶ τοὺς ὑμετέρους γενέσθαι πατέρας· εἶναι γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ ἐβούλοντο καὶ τούτου τοῖς ἔργοις ἐφικνοῦντο· στρογγύλας δ' ἀποφθέξεις καὶ καλλιρρήμονας ὥστε περιττοὺς εἶναι δοκεῖν οὐτ' ἐπετήδευον οὔτε ἐγίνωσκον. οἷοις μέντοι λογισμοῖς ἕκαστα ἔπραττον, τοιούτοις καὶ λόγοις περὶ αὐτῶν ἐχρῶντο, οὐκ εἰς βραχὺ συνηγμένοις, ἀλλὰ καλοῖς, εἰ τὸν νοῦν σκέπτοιτό τις, μὴ ἐπιδεικτικῶς ἐξετάζων ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν χρεῖαν ἕκαστα ἀνάγων.

I Σήβωσε Dittenberger; Egermann (Sitz.ber. Wien. Ak. 214 p.53.1): Σίβοσσε cod. 15 ἐκεῖνοι Arnim: ἐκεῖ cod. 17 συνεβίων Arnim: συνεβίουν cod. et Wehrli φησὶν Arnim: φασὶν cod. 20 τούτου Arnim: τούτων cod. 22 περιττοὺς] περιττὰς White

- 37 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 1.40 (OCT t.1 p.16.21–6 Long)

περὶ δὴ τῶν ἐπτά—ἄξιον γὰρ ἐνταῦθα καθολικῶς κ' ἀκείνων ἐπιμνησθῆναι—λόγοι φέρονται τοιοῦτοι. Δάμων ὁ Κυρηναῖος,

- 36 Vatican Codex 435, Plutarch's or Caecilius' *Roman Sayings* (Hermes v.27 [1892] p.119.37–120.26 Arnim)

The ancient Romans, Sebosus my fine fellow, did not wish to be considered wise, so they did not pursue a reputation through cleverness of speeches or exceptional and persuasive sayings, which some of the Greeks used and which have commonly been thought to be regarded as even more credible than oracles, e.g. 'nothing in excess', 'obey god', 'save time', 'know thyself', 'stand surety and suffer greatly' and others similar to these—perhaps they are even beneficial to those who obey them, and they do have something in their shortness of expression that is pleasant and inviting. But to Dicaearchus not even these are reputed to be by wise men, since the ancients did not do philosophy with speech. Indeed (he thought) that wisdom at that time was the practice of good deeds, but in time the craft of popular speeches developed. Nowadays the one who speaks persuasively appears to be a great philosopher, but in ancient times only the good man was a philosopher, even if he did not create admired and popular speeches for himself. For (the ancients) did not enquire whether they should practise politics or how, although they themselves did practise politics nobly, (nor did they enquire) whether it was necessary to marry, but having married in the manner in which they were supposed to marry, they lived together with their wives. These, he says, were the deeds of men and the practices of the wise, but these proverbializings are a vulgar matter. I believe your ancestors were also this way. For they wished to be good and they achieved this by their deeds, but they neither practised nor knew pithy and elegant sayings coined for the sake of appearing exceptional. Indeed, like the reasons they used each time they acted, so also were the words they used about them; they were composed not for brevity, but they were noble—if one examines their content, not by investigating their presentation but by recalling their usefulness on each occasion.

- 37 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 1.40 (OCT v.1 p.16.21–6 Long)

Concerning the seven—for it is right to mention them in general here—the following sorts of statements are made: Damon of Cyrene,

γεγραφώς Περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων, πᾶσιν ἐγκαλεῖ, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ἑπτά· Ἀναξιμένης δὲ φησι πάντας ἐπιθέσθαι ποιητικῇ. ὁ δὲ Δικαίάρχος οὔτε σοφοὺς οὔτε φιλοσόφους φησὶν αὐτοὺς γεγονέναι, συνετοὺς δὲ τινὰς καὶ νομοθετικούς.

4 Anaximenes, FGrH 72 F22 4–5 cf. Plato, *Prot.* 342a–343c et Cic., *De am.* 2.7

- 38 Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 1.41 (OCT t.1 p.17.9–18 Long)

στασιάζεται δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ αὐτῶν. Λεάνδριος μὲν γὰρ ἀντὶ Κλεοβούλου καὶ Μύσωνος Λεώφαντον Γοργιάδα, Λεβέδιον ἢ Ἐφέσιον, ἐγκρίνει καὶ Ἐπιμενίδην τὸν Κρήτα· Πλάτων δὲ ἐν Πρωταγόρᾳ Μύσωνα ἀντὶ Περιάνδρου· Ἐφορος δὲ ἀντὶ Μύσωνος Ἀνάχαρσιν· οἱ δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόραν προσγράφουσιν. Δικαίάρχος δὲ τέσσαρας ὡμολογημένους ἡμῖν παραδίδωσι, Θαλῆν, Βίαντα, Πιττακὸν, Σόλωνα. ἄλλους δὲ ὀνομάζει ἕξ, ὧν ἐκλέξασθαι τρεῖς, Ἀριστόδημον, Πάμφυλον, Χίλωνα Λακεδαιμόνιον, Κλεόβουλον, Ἀνάχαρσιν, Περιάνδρον.

3 Epimenides, FGrH 492 F16 4 Plato, *Protagoras* 343a Ephorus, FGrH 70 F182

1 Λεάνδριος *codd.*: Μαϊάνδριος Keil 2 Γοργιάδα Reiske: γορσιάδα BP: alii alia

- 39 Philodemus, *De musica*, PHerc. 1572, fr. 2.20–39 (*Ricerche sui Papiri Ercolanesi* 1 [1969] 239a2–11 Rispoli)

... ἐξ ὧν δὲ παρατίθετ[αι]
[Δικ]αίάρχου λάβοι τις ἂν ὅσ[α βού-]
[λετ]αι πρὸς τὴν ἐνεστηκυ[ι-]
αν] ὑπόθεσιν [ἡ] τὸ τὸν πα-
[λα]ιοὺς καὶ σοφὸν τὸν ὡ(ι)δὸ[ν]
νο]μίζειν, ὡς εἶναι δῆλον
[ἐκ] τοῦ παρὰ τῇ Κλυταιμνή-
[στραι κατ]αλειφθέντος· καὶ
[μάλιστα] α[γνῶναί] φασιν, ὅ[[δ]]ς [ἄν]
[τι τ]ούτων ἀκούση[ι], δι' οὗ γε

who wrote *On the Philosophers*, attacks everyone, but especially the seven; Anaximenes says that they all did poetry; Dicaearchus says that (the seven wise men) were neither wise men nor philosophers, but intelligent people and capable lawmakers.

- 38 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 1.41 (OCT v.1 p.17.9–18 Long)

There is dispute also about the number of (the seven wise men). Leandrius includes Leophantus, son of Gorgias, from Lebedus or Ephesus, and Epimenides of Crete in place of Cleobulus and Myson; Plato in the *Protagoras* includes Myson instead of Periander; Ephorus includes Anacharsis instead of Myson; others add Pythagoras also. Dicaearchus reports to us four who are agreed upon: Thales, Bias, Pittacus, and Solon. He names six others of whom three (he says) are to be selected, Aristodemus, Pamphylus and Chilon the Lacedaemonian, Cleoboulus, Anacharsis, and Periander.

- 39 Philodemus, *On Music*, PHerc. 1572, fr. 2.20–39 (*Ricerche sui Papiri Ercolanesi* 1 [1969] 239a2–11 Rispoli)

... from what he (Diogenes of Babylon) cites from Dicaearchus, one might derive as much as one wants for the present supposition: The ancients thought that the singer was also wise, as is clear from the one left with Clytemnestra; and they say that whoever hears any of these things recognizes this especially. Through him (the

[συμ]φωνεῖται καὶ πλείο-
 [σι παρίσ]τα[τ]αι τὸ πρὸς ταῖς ἄλ-
 [λαις δυνάμ]εσιν τὸ μέλος καὶ
 [στάσεων κ]αὶ ταραχῶν εἰ-
 [ναι κ]αταπ[α]υστικόν, ὥς ἐπὶ
 [τῶν ἀνθρώ]πων καὶ τῶν ζώ-
 [ων φαίν]ε(σ)θαι καταπραυνο-
 [μένω]ν· διὸ καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίλο-
 [χον λ]έγειν “κηλῶ(ν)ται δ’ ὅτις
 [ἄστ]ῶν ἀοιδαῖς.”

5 cf. Philodem., *De musica*, PHerc. 225, fr. 22.13–20 (CE 19 [1989] 133 Delattre)
 7–8 cf. Hom., *Od.* 3.267 18–19 Archilochus, fr. 253 West

2 Δικ[αί]αρχου restituit Kemke 19 κηλῶ(ν)ται Gigante: κηλῶται pap.:
 κηλεῖται Rispoli

40 Porphyrius, *Vita Pythagorae* 18–19 (CB p.44.1–45.3 des Places)

ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπέβη καὶ ἐν Κρότωνι ἐγένετο, φησὶν ὁ
 Δικαίαρχος, ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀφικομένου πολυπλάνου τε καὶ περιττοῦ
 καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης εὖ κεχορηγημένου, τὴν
 τε γὰρ ιδεάν εἶναι ἐλευθέριον καὶ μέγαν χάριν τε πλείστην καὶ
 κόσμον ἐπὶ τε τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τοῦ ἥθους καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 ἀπάντων ἔχειν, οὕτως διαθεῖναι τὴν Κροτωνιατῶν πόλιν, ὥστ’
 ἐπεὶ τὸ τῶν γερόντων ἀρχεῖον ἐψυχαγῶγησε πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ
 διαλεχθεῖς, τοῖς νέοις πάλιν ἡβητικὰς ἐποιήσατο παραινέσεις
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων κελευσθεῖς, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς παισὶν ἐκ τῶν
 διδασκαλείων ἀθρόοις συνελθοῦσιν, εἶτα ταῖς γυναῖξί, (ἐπεὶ)
 καὶ γυναικῶν σύλλογος αὐτῷ κατεσκευάσθη.

- 19 γενομένων δὲ τούτων μεγάλη περὶ αὐτὸν ἠϋξήθη δόξα, καὶ
 πολλοὺς μὲν ἔλαβεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως ὁμιλητὰς οὐ μόνον
 ἄνδρας ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκας ὧν μιᾶς γε Θεανοῦς καὶ διεβοήθη
 τοῦνομα, πολλοὺς δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς σύνεγγυς βαρβάρου χώρας
 βασιλεῖς τε καὶ δυνάστας. ἃ μὲν οὖν ἔλεγε τοῖς συνοῦσιν οὐδὲ
 εἰς ἔχει φράσαι βεβαίως· καὶ γὰρ οὐδ’ ἡ τυχοῦσα ἦν παρ’ αὐτοῖς
 σιωπῇ. μάλιστα μέντοι γνώριμα παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐγένετο πρῶτον μὲν
 ὡς ἀθάνατον εἶναι φησι τὴν ψυχὴν, εἶτα μεταβάλλουσιν εἰς
 ἄλλα γένη ζῶων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅτι κατὰ περιόδους τινὰς τὰ

singer), at any rate, song is made concordant and provides to rather
 many, in addition to its other powers, a damper on strife and distur-
 bances, as is seen both with regard to humans and animals, which
 are soothed (by it). For this reason Archilochus says, “each citizen
 is beguiled by songs.”

40 Porphyry, *Life of Pythagoras* 18–19 (CB p.44.1–45.3 des Places)

Dicaearchus says that when (Pythagoras) arrived in Italy and
 came to be in Croton—as a man who had arrived after wandering
 far, was exceptional and was well endowed in his personal nature
 by fortune, for he had a great and free-born physique, much charm
 and beauty in his voice, character and everything else—he had such
 an effect on the city of the Crotoniates that after he had influenced
 the council of the elders with many fine arguments, he made ad-
 dresses suitable for their age in turn to the young, when bidden by
 the councillors, and after this to the children gathered in groups
 from the schools, then to women, when an assembly of women
 was created for him.

- 19 When these things happened, fame grew great around him and
 he won over many followers from this city, not only men but also
 women, one of whom, Theano at least, made a famous name for
 herself, and also many from the neighbouring non-Greek territory,
 both kings and rulers. What he said to those with him, however, it
 is not possible for anyone to say exactly, for there was no ordinary
 silence among them. However, it was especially well-known by
 all, first, that he said that the soul is immortal, then, that it transmi-
 grates into other kinds of animals, and in addition that what hap-

γενόμενά ποτε πάλιν γίνεται, νέον δ' οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς ἔστι, καὶ ὅτι
πάντα τὰ γινόμενα ἔμψυχα ὁμογενῇ δεῖ νομίζειν. φαίνεται γὰρ
εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ δόγματα πρῶτος κομίσαι ταῦτα Πυθαγόρας.

1-24 FVS 14A8a

5 ἐπὶ (bis)] ἀπὸ Nauck 10 (ἐπεὶ) supplevit Westermann: om. des Places 19
φησὶ BM: φασὶ VLW 21 γενόμενά Westermann: γινόμενά codd. 22 φαίνε-
ται] φέρεται Nauck et des Places

41A Porphyrus, Vita Pythagorae 56-7 (CB p.63.4-64.1 des Places)

Δικαίαρχος δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι καὶ τὸν Πυθαγόραν φασὶν
παρεῖναι τῇ ἐπιβουλῇ. Φερεκύδην γὰρ πρὸ τῆς ἐκ Σάμου
ἀπάρσεως τελευτήσαι. τῶν δ' ἐταίρων ἀθρόους μὲν τετα-
ράκοντα ἐν οἰκίᾳ τινὸς παρεδρεύοντας ληφθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ
πολλοὺς σποράδην κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἔτυχον ἕκαστοι
διαφθαρῆναι. Πυθαγόραν δὲ κρατουμένων τῶν φίλων τὸ μὲν
πρῶτον εἰς Καυλωνίαν τὸν ὄρμον σωθῆναι, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πάλιν εἰς
Λοκρούς. πυθομένους δὲ τοὺς Λοκρούς τῶν γερόντων τινὰς ἐπὶ
τὰ τῆς χώρας ὅρια ἀποστεῖλαι. τούτους δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἀπαντήσαντας εἰπεῖν· “ἡμεῖς, ὦ Πυθαγόρα, σοφὸν μὲν ἄνδρα
σε καὶ δεινὸν ἀκούομεν. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἰδίους νόμοις οὐθὲν
ἔχομεν ἐγκαλεῖν, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων πειρασόμεθα
μένειν, σὺ δ' ἐτέρωθί που βάδιζε λαβὼν παρ' ἡμῶν εἴ τοι
κεκρημένος [τῶν ἀναγκαίων] τυγχάνεις.” ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν
Λοκρῶν πόλεως τὸν εἰρημένον ἀπηλλάγη τρόπον, εἰς Τάραντα
πλεῦσαι. πάλιν δὲ κάκεῖ παραπλήσια παθόντα τοῖς περὶ
Κρότωνα εἰς Μεταπόντιον ἐλθεῖν. πανταχοῦ γὰρ ἐγένοντο
μεγάλαι στάσεις, ὥς ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ περὶ τοὺς τόπους μνημονεύ-
ουσὶ τε καὶ διηγοῦνται, τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων καλοῦντες.
[Πυθαγόρειοι δ' ἐκλήθησαν ἢ σύστασις ἅπασα ἢ συνακολου-
θήσασα αὐτῷ.] ἐν δὲ τῇ περὶ Μεταπόντιον καὶ Πυθαγόραν αὐτὸν
λέγουσι τελευτήσαι καταφυγόντα ἐπὶ τὸ Μουσῶν ἱερόν, σπάνει
τῶν ἀναγκαίων τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας διαμείναντα.

4 cf. Iamblichus, De vita Pyth. 249; Plut., De genio Socratis 13 583A

4 παρεδρεύοντας] συνεδρεύοντας Nauck 5 ἕκαστοι Usener: εἰς ἅστω codd.
7 τὸν Rittershusius: τὴν codd. 14 τῶν ἀναγκαίων exprunxit Cobet 20-1
Πυθαγόρειοι—αὐτῷ secl. Nauck

pens happens again at some time according to certain cycles, that,
in short, there is nothing new, and that it is necessary to believe that
all ensouled beings are of the same kind. For it appears that
Pythagoras was the first to bring these teachings into Greece.

41A Porphyry, Life of Pythagoras 56-7 (CB p.63.4-64.1 des Places)

Dicaearchus and the more accurate reporters say that Pythagoras
was present during the conspiracy. For Pherecydes died before
ejection from Samos. Forty of his companions were caught sitting
gathered at someone's house, but most perished scattered across
the city, wherever each happened to be. When his friends were
overwhelmed, Pythagoras at first reached refuge safely at Caulonia,
and from there went to Locri. When the Locrians discovered this,
they sent some of the elders to the borders of their territory. Ap-
proaching him, they said, “Pythagoras, we hear that you are a wise
and crafty man. But since we have no accusation to make on the
basis of our laws, we ourselves shall attempt to remain within the
present (arrangements). But you, take from us if you happen to
have need of something and go somewhere else.” When he left the
city of Locri in the aforesaid way, he sailed to Tarentum. There
again he had experiences very similar to those at Croton, and went
to Metapontum. For everywhere there were great revolutions, which
they recall and discuss even now in those places, calling them the
(revolutions) in the time of the Pythagoreans. [And the entire group
following him was called Pythagorean.] They say that Pythagoras
died, because of a lack of necessities, in the area around
Metapontum, having fled to the temple of the Muses and remained
there forty days.

δὲ τόπῳ περιέχεσθαι.

5 cf. Plutarchus, *De lib. et aegr.* 5 54.15

1 διακριτική: διακριτικόν ζ 2-3 φύσει συνεπιβάλλειν-ᾧ *codd.*: φύσει ἐπιβάλλειν, συνεπιβάλλειν δὲ τῇ οὐσίᾳ, ἐξ ἧς ἐστι, τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ *Kayser* 3 δι' ἣν οὐσίᾳ *Gen.*: διονουσία *NEL*: δι' ὃν οὐσίᾳ ζ 4 τὰ *om.* ζ 5 εἶναί φασιν *N* 6 ἔλεξαν *NLE*: ἔλεγον ζ 7 τόπῳ ζ: τούτῳ *NLE*

- 25 Tertullianus, *De anima* 15.1-3 (CC Series latina, pars 2 p.801.4-17 Waszink)

in primis an sit aliqui summus in anima gradus vitalis et sapientialis, quod ἡγεμονικόν appellant, id est principale, quia si negetur, totus animae status periclitatur. denique qui negant
2 principale, ipsam prius animam nihil censuerunt. Messenius aliqui Dicaearchus, ex medicis autem Andreas et Asclepiades, ita abstulerunt principale, dum in animo ipso volunt esse sensus, quo-
3 rum vindicatur principale ... sed plures et philosophi adversus Dicaearchum, Plato, Strato, Epicurus, Democritus, Empedocles, Socrates, Aristoteles et medici ...

7-8 adversus Dicaearchum] adverdi cae arcum *A* 9 Socrates] Xenocrates *Diels*

- 26 Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Categorias* 8b25 (CAG t.8 p.216.12-15 Kalbfleisch)

οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρετρίας ἀνήρουν τὰς ποιότητας ὡς οὐδαμῶς ἐχούσας τι κοινὸν οὐσιῶδες, ἐν δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστα καὶ συνθέτοις ὑπαρχούσας, καὶ Δικαίαρχος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας τὸ μὲν ζῶον συνεχώρει εἶναι, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν ἀνῆρει.

3 δὲ *om.* *A*

- 27 Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.77 (BT p.256.23-7 Pohlenz)

acerrime autem deliciae meae Dicaearchus contra hanc immortalitatem disseruit. is enim tres libros scripsit, qui Lesbiaci vocantur

not that it is contained in the same place.¹

¹That is, some say that it exists outside the body while others say it exists throughout the entire body.

- 25 Tertullian, *On the Soul* 15.1-3 (CC Latin Series, part 2 p.801.4-17 Waszink)

In particular, (there is the question) whether there is some highest level in the soul pertaining to life and wisdom, which they call "hegemonic," i.e., ruling, since if it be denied, the whole status of the soul is in jeopardy. In short, those who deny that there is a ruling part (of the soul) have first determined that the soul itself is
2 nothing. A certain Messanian, Dicaearchus, and of the physicians Andreas and Asclepiades, rejected the ruling part in this way, while they want the senses, whose ruling part it is claimed to be, to be in
3 the mind itself ... But most, including the philosophers, are against Dicaearchus: Plato, Strato, Epicurus, Democritus, Empedocles, Socrates, Aristotle, and of the physicians ...

- 26 Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Categories* 8b25 (CAG v.8 p.216.12-15 Kalbfleisch)

The Eretrians¹ rejected the qualities on the grounds that they have nothing substantial in common at all, but exist in things that are particulars and compounds. For the same reason Dicaearchus agreed that the "living creature" exists, but rejected its cause, soul.

¹Founded by Menedemus (D.L. 2.125-44), the Eretrians represented a continuation of the school of Elis.

- 27 Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 1.77 (BT p.256.23-7 Pohlenz)

But my favourite, Dicaearchus, has written most incisively against this immortality (of the mind). For he wrote three books,

quod Mytilenis sermo habetur, in quibus volt efficere animos esse mortales.

- 28 [Galenus], *De historia philosophica* 24 (DG p.613.14–16 Diels)

Θνητὴν μὲν ψυχὴν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος καὶ Δικαίαρχος ᾤθησαν, ἀθάνατον δὲ Πλάτων καὶ οἱ Στωικοί.

¹ Δικαίαρχος *Camerarius*: Δίαρχος *AB*: Diocles *N* (*versio Latina*)

- 29 Lactantius, *Institutiones divinae* 7.13.7 (CSEL t.19 pars 1 sec.2 p.627.1–9 Brandt)

falsa est ergo Democriti et Epicuri et Dicaearchi de animae dissolutione sententia. qui profecto non auderent de interitu animarum mago aliquo praesente disserere, qui sciret certis carminibus cieri ab inferis animas et adesse et praeberere se humanis oculis videndas et loqui et futura praedicere, et si auderent, re ipsa et documentis praesentibus vincerentur. sed quia non pervidebant animae rationem, quae tam subtilis est, ut oculos humanae mentis effugiat, interire dixerunt.

^{1–2} Zeno Veronensis, *Tractatus* 1.2.4 (CCSL t.22 p.15.27–9 Löfstedt)

⁶ rationem: ratione *H*

- 30A [Galenus], *De historia philosophica* 105 (DG p.639.27–9 Diels)

Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Δικαίαρχος τοὺς ὀνείρους εἰσάγουσιν, ἀθάνατον μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν οὐ νομίζοντες, θείου δὲ τινος μετέχειν.

¹ Δικαίαρχος *Diels*: Δίαρχος *codd.* ² νομίζοντες: νομίζονται *B*

- 30B [Plutarchus], *De placitis philosophorum* 5.1 904E (BT t.5.2.1 p.134.1–3 Mau)

Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Δικαίαρχος τὸ κατ' ἐνθουσιασμὸν μόνον παρεισάγουσι καὶ τοὺς ὀνείρους, ἀθάνατον μὲν εἶναι οὐ νομίζοντες τὴν ψυχὴν, θείου δὲ τινος μετέχειν αὐτήν.

¹ Aristoteles, cf. *Parva naturalia* = *De divinatione in somno* 2 463b14–16

which are called 'Lesbian' because the dialogue is set at Mytilene, in which he wishes to show that minds are mortal.

- 28 Pseudo-Galen, *History of Philosophy* 24 (DG p.613.14–16 Diels)

Epicurus and Dicaearchus¹ thought that the soul was mortal, but Plato and the Stoics (thought it was) immortal.

¹ The name "Dicaearchus" has been restored from "Diarchos."

- 29 Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 7.13.7 (CSEL v.19 part 1 sec.2 p.627.1–9 Brandt)

Therefore the view of Democritus and Epicurus and Dicaearchus concerning the dissolution of the soul is false. They would not dare to discuss the perishing of souls in the presence of some magician, who knew that souls are summoned from the underworld by specific charms and come to us and present themselves to be seen by human eyes and speak and predict future events—and if they dared, they would be defeated by the fact itself and the proofs there before them. But since they did not succeed in seeing the make-up of the soul, which is so fine that it escapes the eyes of the human mind, they said that it perished.

- 30A Pseudo-Galen, *History of Philosophy* 105 (DG p.639.27–9 Diels)

Aristotle and Dicaearchus¹ admit dreams, not because they think that the soul is immortal, but that it shares something divine.

¹ The name "Dicaearchus" has been restored from "Diarchus."

- 30B Pseudo-Plutarch, *On the Opinions of the Philosophers* 5.1 904E (BT v.5.2.1 p.134.1–3 Mau)

Aristotle and Dicaearchus admit only that (sort of divination) that is according to inspiration and dreams, since they do not believe the soul to be immortal but that it shares in something divine.

31A Cicero, *De divinatione* 1.5 (BT p.4.11–13 Giomini)

Dicaearchus Peripateticus cetera divinationis genera sustulit, somniorum et furoris reliquit.

31B Cicero, *De divinatione* 1.113 (BT p.65.3–7 Giomini)

nec vero umquam animus hominis naturaliter divinat, nisi cum ita solutus est et vacuus, ut ei plane nihil sit cum corpore, quod aut vatibus contingit aut dormientibus. itaque ea duo genera a Dicaearcho probantur et ut dixi¹ a Cratippo nostro.

¹ I.e., in *De div.* 1.5.

31C Cicero, *De divinatione* 2.100 (BT p.124.25–125.3 Giomini)

haec me Peripateticorum ratio magis movebat et veteris Dicaearchi et eius qui nunc floret Cratippi, qui censent esse in mentibus hominum tamquam oraculum aliquod, ex quo futura praesentiant, si aut furore divino incitatus animus aut somno relaxatus solute moveatur ac libere.

¹ haec Giomini: ac V

32 Cicero, *De divinatione* 2.105 (BT p.127.2–4 Giomini)

at nostra interest scire ea quae eventura sint. magnus Dicaearchi liber est, nescire ea melius esse quam scire.

¹ scire] scire ex scribere V

De Vita Philosophica

33 Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 2.16.3 (BT t.1 p.74.5–12 Shackleton Bailey)

nunc prorsus hoc statui, ut quoniam tanta controversia est Dicaearcho familiari tuo cum Theophrasto amico meo, ut ille tuus

31A Cicero, *On Divination* 1.5 (BT p.4.11–13 Giomini)

Dicaearchus the Peripatetic rejected all the other forms of divination, but left those from dreams and madness.

31B Cicero, *On Divination* 1.113 (BT p.65.3–7 Giomini)

Indeed, the human mind never divines naturally, except when it is so loosened and empty that it has absolutely nothing to do with the body, which occurs to either mantics or dreamers. And so two kinds (of divination) are approved by Dicaearchus and by our Cratippus, as I said.¹

¹ In *On Divination* 1.5, above (following our excerpt), Cicero also identifies Cratippus' views with those of Dicaearchus.

31C Cicero, *On Divination* 2.100 (BT p.124.25–125.3 Giomini)

This reasoning of the Peripatetics used to move me somewhat, that of Dicaearchus of old and Cratippus, who is popular now. They think there is in the minds of men, as it were, some oracle, from which they foresee future events, if either the soul is excited by a divine madness or if it is relaxed by sleep and moved loosely and freely.

32 Cicero, *On Divination* 2.105 (BT p.127.2–4 Giomini)

But (the Stoics say) it matters to us to know what will happen. There is a large book of Dicaearchus, (which says) it is better not to know these things than to know (them).

Philosophical Biography

33 Cicero, *To Atticus* 2.16.3 (BT v.1 p.74.5–12 Shackleton Bailey)

At present I have fully resolved, that, since the controversy between your intimate Dicaearchus and my friend Theophrastus is so

τὸν πρακτικὸν βίον longe omnibus anteponat, hic autem τὸν θεωρητικόν, utrique a me mos gestus esse videatur. puto enim me Dicaearcho adfatim satis fecisse; respicio nunc ad hanc familiam quae mihi non modo ut requiescam permittit sed reprehendit quia non semper quierim.

2 Theophrastus, 481 FHS&G

34 Cicero, Ad Atticum 7.3.1 (BT t.1 p.246.24–247.6 Shackleton Bailey)

ac primum illud, in quo te Dicaearcho adsentiri negas, etsi cupidissime expetitur a me est et te approbante, ne diutius anno in provincia essem, tamen non est nostra contentione perfectum: sic enim scito, verbum in senatu factum esse numquam de ullo nostrum, qui provincias obtinuimus, quo in iis diutius quam ex senatus consulto maneremus, ut iam ne istius quidem rei culpam sustineam, quod minus diu fuerim in provincia, quam fortasse fuerit utile.

1 cf. Cic. Ad Att. 7.1

2 est Wisenberg: sit Ω et om. H te approbante HC: ap- NORM: ap- te δ

35 Plutarchus, Quaestiones convivales 4 Praef. 659E–660A (BT t.4 p.117.6–16 Hubert)

τοῦ Πολυβίου Σκηπίωνι παραινοῦντος Ἀφρικανῶ μὴ πρότερον ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἀπελθεῖν ἢ φίλον τινὰ ποιήσασθαι τῶν πολιτῶν, φίλον δεῖ μὴ πικρῶς μηδὲ σοφιστικῶς ἀκούειν ἐκείνον τὸν ἀμετάπτωτον καὶ βέβαιον, ἀλλὰ κοινῶς τὸν εὖνον· ὥσπερ ᾔετο χρῆναι Δικαίαντος εὖνους μὲν αὐτῷ παρασκευάζειν ἅπαντας, φίλους δὲ ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς. φιλία γὰρ ἐν χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ δι' ἀρετῆς ἀλώσιμον· εὖνοια δὲ καὶ χρεῖα καὶ ὁμιλία καὶ παιδιᾷ πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπάγεται, καιρὸν λαβοῦσα πειθοῦς φιλανθρώπου καὶ χάριτος συνεργόν.

3 cf. [Arist.], MM 2.11 1209b12

great that that man of yours puts the active life far ahead of all others, while this (friend of mine prefers) the contemplative life, I may appear to practise the rule of both. For I think that I have sufficiently satisfied Dicaearchus; now I am looking back toward this school (the Epicurean), which not only permits me to be at leisure, but criticizes (me) since I have not always been at rest.

34 Cicero, To Atticus 7.3.1 (BT v.1 p.246.24–247.6 Shackleton Bailey)

But first on that point in which you claim not to agree with Dicaearchus: even if it was sought most desirously by me, with your approval, not to be in a province longer than a year,¹ nevertheless it was not brought about through my own effort; for you should know that no word was ever said in the senate concerning any of us who got provinces, that we should stay in them longer than was commanded by the senate, so that now I should take no blame for that business of yours because I was in the province less long than might have been useful.

¹ Cicero was governor in Cilicia from summer 51 to summer 50.

35 Plutarch, Table Talk 4 Pref. 659E–660A (BT v.4 p.117.6–16 Hubert)

When Polybius advises Scipio Africanus not to leave the marketplace before having made a friend of one of the citizens, one must not understand “friend” narrowly and pedantically as unfailing and sure, but more widely, as someone with goodwill, just as Dicaearchus thought it necessary to make all people well disposed to oneself, but to make the good people one’s friends. For friendship is won over great time and through virtue; but goodwill comes about through business, social contact and cultural gatherings with people in the city, when one takes the opportunity for benevolent persuasion and sharing favors.

- 36 Codex Vaticanus 435, Πλουτάρχου ἢ Κεκιλίου ἀποφθέγματα Ῥωμαϊκά (Hermes t.27 [1892] p.119.37–120.26 Arnim)

οὐκ ἐβούλοντο οἱ παλαιοὶ Ῥωμαίων, ὃ Σήβωσε ἀνδρῶν ἄριστε, σοφοὶ εἶναι δοκεῖν, ὅθεν οὐδὲ ἐθήρων τὴν δόξαν δεινότητι λόγων ἢ περιττοῖς καὶ πιθανοῖς ἀποφθέγμασιν, οἷς ἐχρήσαντο Ἑλλήνων τινές, ἃ διαβεβόηται χρησμῶν εἶναι δοκοῦντα ἤδη πιστότερα, μηδὲν ἄγαν, καὶ ἔπου θεῶ, καὶ χρόνων φείδου, καὶ γνῶθι σαυτὸν, καὶ ἐγγύα πάρα δ' ἄτα καὶ ἄλλα τούτοις ἐοικότα, ἴσως μὲν καὶ ὠφέλιμα τοῖς πειθόμενοις, ἔχοντα δὲ τι ἐν τῷ βραχεῖ τῆς ἀποδόσεως ἡδὺ καὶ προσκλητικόν. Δικαιάρχῳ δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα σοφῶν εἶναι ἀνδρῶν δοκεῖ, μὴ γὰρ δὴ γε τοὺς πάλαι λόγῳ φιλοσοφεῖν. ἀλλ' εἶναι τὴν σοφίαν τότε γούν ἐπιτήδευσιν ἔργων καλῶν, χρόνῳ δὲ λόγων ὀχλικῶν γενέσθαι τέχνην. καὶ νῦν μὲν τὸν πιθανῶς διαλεχθέντα μέγαν εἶναι δοκεῖν φιλόσοφον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πάλαι χρόνοις ὁ ἀγαθὸς μόνος ἦν φιλόσοφος, εἰ καὶ μὴ περιβλέπτους καὶ ὀχλικούς ἀσκοῖτο λόγους. οὐ γὰρ ἐζήτουν ἐκεῖνοί γε εἰ πολιτευτέον οὐδὲ πῶς, ἀλλ' ἐπολιτεύοντο αὐτοὶ καλῶς, οὐδὲ εἰ χρὴ γαμεῖν, ἀλλὰ γήμαντες ὃν δεῖ τρόπον γαμεῖν ταῖς γυναιξὶ συνεβίων. ταῦτα ἦν, φησὶν, ἔργα ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα σοφῶν, αἱ δὲ ἀποφθέξεις αὐταὶ πρᾶγμα φορτικόν. τοιούτους πείθομαι καὶ τοὺς ὑμετέρους γενέσθαι πατέρας· εἶναι γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ ἐβούλοντο καὶ τούτου τοῖς ἔργοις ἐφικνοῦντο· στρογγύλας δ' ἀποφθέξεις καὶ καλλιρρήμονας ὥστε περιττοὺς εἶναι δοκεῖν οὗτ' ἐπετήδευον οὔτε ἐγίγνωσκον. οἷσις μέντοι λογισμοῖς ἕκαστα ἔπραττον, τοιούτοις καὶ λόγοις περὶ αὐτῶν ἐχρῶντο, οὐκ εἰς βραχὺ συνηγμένοις, ἀλλὰ καλοῖς, εἰ τὸν νοῦν σκέπτοιτό τις, μὴ ἐπιδεικτικῶς ἐξετάζων ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν χρεῖαν ἕκαστα ἀνάγων.

1 Σήβωσε Dittenberger; Egermann (Sitz.ber. Wien. Ak. 214 p.53.1): Σίβωσσε cod. 15 ἐκεῖνοι Arnim: ἐκεῖ cod. 17 συνεβίων Arnim: συνεβίων cod. et Wehrli φησὶν Arnim: φασὶν cod. 20 τούτου Arnim: τούτων cod. 22 περιττοῦς] περιττὰς White

- 37 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 1.40 (OCT v.1 p.16.21–6 Long)

περὶ δὴ τῶν ἐπτά—ἄξιον γὰρ ἐνταῦθα καθολικῶς κ' ἀκείνων ἐπιμνησθῆναι—λόγοι φέρονται τοιούτοι. Δάμων ὁ Κυρηναῖος,

- 36 Vatican Codex 435, Plutarch's or Caecilius' *Roman Sayings* (Hermes v.27 [1892] p.119.37–120.26 Arnim)

The ancient Romans, Sebosus my fine fellow, did not wish to be considered wise, so they did not pursue a reputation through cleverness of speeches or exceptional and persuasive sayings, which some of the Greeks used and which have commonly been thought to be regarded as even more credible than oracles, e.g. 'nothing in excess', 'obey god', 'save time', 'know thyself', 'stand surety and suffer greatly' and others similar to these—perhaps they are even beneficial to those who obey them, and they do have something in their shortness of expression that is pleasant and inviting. But to Dicaearchus not even these are reputed to be by wise men, since the ancients did not do philosophy with speech. Indeed (he thought) that wisdom at that time was the practice of good deeds, but in time the craft of popular speeches developed. Nowadays the one who speaks persuasively appears to be a great philosopher, but in ancient times only the good man was a philosopher, even if he did not create admired and popular speeches for himself. For (the ancients) did not enquire whether they should practise politics or how, although they themselves did practise politics nobly, (nor did they enquire) whether it was necessary to marry, but having married in the manner in which they were supposed to marry, they lived together with their wives. These, he says, were the deeds of men and the practices of the wise, but these proverbializings are a vulgar matter. I believe your ancestors were also this way. For they wished to be good and they achieved this by their deeds, but they neither practised nor knew pithy and elegant sayings coined for the sake of appearing exceptional. Indeed, like the reasons they used each time they acted, so also were the words they used about them; they were composed not for brevity, but they were noble—if one examines their content, not by investigating their presentation but by recalling their usefulness on each occasion.

- 37 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 1.40 (OCT v.1 p.16.21–6 Long)

Concerning the seven—for it is right to mention them in general here—the following sorts of statements are made: Damon of Cyrene,

γεγραφὼς Περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων, πᾶσιν ἐγκαλεῖ, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ἑπτά· Ἀναξιμένης δὲ φησι πάντας ἐπιθέσθαι ποιητικῇ. ὁ δὲ Δικαίάρχος οὔτε σοφοὺς οὔτε φιλοσόφους φησὶν αὐτοὺς γεγονέναι, συνετοὺς δὲ τινὰς καὶ νομοθετικούς.

4 Anaximenes, FGrH 72 F22 4–5 cf. Plato, *Prot.* 342a–343c et Cic., *De am.* 2.7

- 38 Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 1.41 (OCT t.1 p.17.9–18 Long)

στασιάζεται δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ αὐτῶν. Λεάνδριος μὲν γὰρ ἀντὶ Κλεοβούλου καὶ Μύσωνος Λεώφαντον Γοργιάδα, Λεβέδιον ἢ Ἐφέσιον, ἐγκρίνει καὶ Ἐπιμενίδην τὸν Κρήτα· Πλάτων δὲ ἐν *Πρωταγόρᾳ* Μύσωνα ἀντὶ Περιάνδρου· Ἐφορος δὲ ἀντὶ Μύσωνος Ἀνάχαρσιν· οἱ δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόραν προσγράφουσι. Δικαίάρχος δὲ τέσσαρας ὁμολογημένους ἡμῖν παραδίδωσι, Θαλῆν, Βίαντα, Πιττακὸν, Σόλωνα. ἄλλους δὲ ὀνομάζει ἕξ, ὧν ἐκλέξασθαι τρεῖς, Ἀριστόδημον, Πάμφυλον, Χίλωνα Λακεδαιμόνιον, Κλεόβουλον, Ἀνάχαρσιν, Περιάνδρον.

3 Epimenides, FGrH 492 F16 4 Plato, *Protagoras* 343a Ephorus, FGrH 70 F182

1 Λεάνδριος *codd.*: Μαϊάνδριος Keil 2 Γοργιάδα Reiske: γορσιάδα BP: alii alia

- 39 Philodemus, *De musica*, PHerc. 1572, fr. 2.20–39 (*Ricerche sui Papiri Ercolanesi* 1 [1969] 239a2–11 Rispoli)

... ἐξ ὧν δὲ παρατίθετ[αι]
[Δικ]αίάρχου λάβοι τις ἂν ὅσ[α βού-]
[λετ]αι πρὸς τὴν ἐνεστηκυ[ῖ-]
αν] ὑπόθεσιν [ῆ] τὸ τοὺς πα-
[λα]ιοὺς καὶ σοφὸν τὸν ὠ(ι)δῶ[ν]
νο]μίζειν, ὡς εἶναι δῆλον
[ἐκ] τοῦ παρὰ τῇ Κλυταιμνή-
[στραι κατ]αλειφθέντος· καὶ
[μάλιστα] α γνῶναί φασιν, ὅ[[δ]]ς [ἄν]
[τι τ]ούτων ἀκούσῃ[ι], δι' οὗ γε

who wrote *On the Philosophers*, attacks everyone, but especially the seven; Anaximenes says that they all did poetry; Dicaearchus says that (the seven wise men) were neither wise men nor philosophers, but intelligent people and capable lawmakers.

- 38 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 1.41 (OCT v.1 p.17.9–18 Long)

There is dispute also about the number of (the seven wise men). Leandrius includes Leophantus, son of Gorgias, from Lebedus or Ephesus, and Epimenides of Crete in place of Cleobulus and Myson; Plato in the *Protagoras* includes Myson instead of Periander; Ephorus includes Anacharsis instead of Myson; others add Pythagoras also. Dicaearchus reports to us four who are agreed upon: Thales, Bias, Pittacus, and Solon. He names six others of whom three (he says) are to be selected, Aristodemus, Pamphylus and Chilon the Lacedaemonian, Cleoboulus, Anacharsis, and Periander.

- 39 Philodemus, *On Music*, PHerc. 1572, fr. 2.20–39 (*Ricerche sui Papiri Ercolanesi* 1 [1969] 239a2–11 Rispoli)

... from what he (Diogenes of Babylon) cites from Dicaearchus, one might derive as much as one wants for the present supposition: The ancients thought that the singer was also wise, as is clear from the one left with Clytemnestra; and they say that whoever hears any of these things recognizes this especially. Through him (the

[συμ]φωνεῖται καὶ πλείο-
 [σι παρίσ]τα[τ]αι τὸ πρὸς ταῖς ἄλ-
 [λαις δυνάμ]εσιν τὸ μέλος καὶ
 [στάσεων κ]αὶ ταραχῶν εἰ-
 [ναι κ]αταπ[ά]υστικόν, ὥς ἐπὶ
 [τῶν ἀνθρώ]πων καὶ τῶν ζώι-
 [ων φαίν]ε(σ)θαι καταπραυνο-
 [μένω]ν· διὸ καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίλο-
 [χον λ]έγειν “κηλῶ(ν)ται δ’ ὅτις
 [ἀστ]ῶν ἀοιδαῖς.”

5 cf. Philodem., *De musica*, PHerc. 225, fr. 22.13–20 (CE 19 [1989] 133 Delattre)
 7–8 cf. Hom., *Od.* 3.267 18–19 Archilochus, fr. 253 West

2 Δικ[αί]αρχου *restituit* Kemke 19 κηλῶ(ν)ται *Gigante*: κηλῶται *par*;
 κηλεῖται *Rispoli*

40 Porphyrius, *Vita Pythagorae* 18–19 (CB p.44.1–45.3 des Places)

ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπέβη καὶ ἐν Κρότωνι ἐγένετο, φησὶν ὁ
 Δικαίαρχος, ὥς ἀνδρὸς ἀφικομένου πολυπλάνου τε καὶ περιττοῦ
 καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης εὖ κεχορηγημένου, τὴν
 τε γὰρ ιδεάν εἶναι ἐλευθέριον καὶ μέγαν χάριν τε πλείστην καὶ
 κόσμον ἐπὶ τε τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τοῦ ἥθους καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 ἀπάντων ἔχειν, οὕτως διαθεῖναι τὴν Κροτωνιατῶν πόλιν, ὥστ'
 ἐπεὶ τὸ τῶν γερόντων ἀρχεῖον ἐψυχαιώγησε πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ
 διαλεχθεῖς, τοῖς νέοις πάλιν ἡβητικὰς ἐποιήσατο παραινέσεις
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων κελευσθεῖς, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς παισὶν ἐκ τῶν
 διδασκαλείων ἀθρόοις συνελθοῦσιν, εἶτα ταῖς γυναῖξί, (ἐπεὶ)
 καὶ γυναικῶν σύλλογος αὐτῷ κατεσκευάσθη.

- 19 γενομένων δὲ τούτων μεγάλη περὶ αὐτὸν ἠϋξήθη δόξα, καὶ
 πολλοὺς μὲν ἔλαβεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως ὁμιλητὰς οὐ μόνον
 ἄνδρας ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκας ὧν μιᾶς γε Θεανοῦς καὶ διεβοήθη
 τοῦνομα, πολλοὺς δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς σύνεγγυς βαρβάρου χώρας
 βασιλεῖς τε καὶ δυνάστας. ἃ μὲν οὖν ἔλεγε τοῖς συνοῦσιν οὐδὲ
 εἰς ἔχει φράσαι βεβαίως· καὶ γὰρ οὐδ’ ἡ τυχοῦσα ἦν παρ’ αὐτοῖς
 σιωπῇ. μάλιστα μέντοι γνώριμα παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐγένετο πρῶτον μὲν
 ὥς ἀθάνατον εἶναί φησι τὴν ψυχὴν, εἶτα μεταβάλλουσιν εἰς
 ἄλλα γένη ζῶων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅτι κατὰ περιόδους τινὰς τὰ

singer), at any rate, song is made concordant and provides to rather
 many, in addition to its other powers, a damper on strife and distur-
 bances, as is seen both with regard to humans and animals, which
 are soothed (by it). For this reason Archilochus says, “each citizen
 is beguiled by songs.”

40 Porphyry, *Life of Pythagoras* 18–19 (CB p.44.1–45.3 des Places)

Dicaearchus says that when (Pythagoras) arrived in Italy and
 came to be in Croton—as a man who had arrived after wandering
 far, was exceptional and was well endowed in his personal nature
 by fortune, for he had a great and free-born physique, much charm
 and beauty in his voice, character and everything else—he had such
 an effect on the city of the Crotoniates that after he had influenced
 the council of the elders with many fine arguments, he made ad-
 dresses suitable for their age in turn to the young, when bidden by
 the councillors, and after this to the children gathered in groups
 from the schools, then to women, when an assembly of women
 was created for him.

- 19 When these things happened, fame grew great around him and
 he won over many followers from this city, not only men but also
 women, one of whom, Theano at least, made a famous name for
 herself, and also many from the neighbouring non-Greek territory,
 both kings and rulers. What he said to those with him, however, it
 is not possible for anyone to say exactly, for there was no ordinary
 silence among them. However, it was especially well-known by
 all, first, that he said that the soul is immortal, then, that it transmi-
 grates into other kinds of animals, and in addition that what hap-

γενόμενά ποτε πάλιν γίνεται, νέον δ' οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς ἔστι, καὶ ὅτι
πάντα τὰ γινόμενα ἔμψυχα ὁμογενῇ δεῖ νομίζειν. φαίνεται γὰρ
εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ δόγματα πρῶτος κομίσαι ταῦτα Πυθαγόρας.

1–24 FVS 14A8a

5 ἐπὶ (*bis*) ἀπὸ Nauck 10 (ἐπεὶ) *supplevit Westermann: om. des Places* 19
φησὶ BM: φασὶ VLW 21 γενόμενά Westermann: γινόμενά *codd.* 22 φαίνε-
ται] φέρεται Nauck et des Places

41A Porphyrius, Vita Pythagorae 56–7 (CB p.63.4–64.1 des Places)

Δικαίαρχος δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀκριβέστεροι καὶ τὸν Πυθαγόραν φασὶν
παρεῖναι τῇ ἐπιβουλῇ. Φερεκύδην γὰρ πρὸ τῆς ἐκ Σάμου
ἀπάρσεως τελευτήσαι. τῶν δ' ἐταίρων ἀθρόους μὲν τετρα-
ράκοντα ἐν οἰκίᾳ τινὸς παρεδρεύοντας ληφθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ
πολλοὺς σποράδην κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὥς ἔτυχον ἕκαστοι
διαφθαρῆναι. Πυθαγόραν δὲ κρατουμένων τῶν φίλων τὸ μὲν
πρῶτον εἰς Καυλωνίαν τὸν ὄρμον σωθῆναι, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πάλιν εἰς
Λοκρούς. πυθομένους δὲ τοὺς Λοκρούς τῶν γερόντων τινὰς ἐπὶ
τὰ τῆς χώρας ὅρια ἀποστείλαι. τούτους δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἀπαντήσαντας εἰπεῖν· “ἡμεῖς, ὦ Πυθαγόρα, σοφὸν μὲν ἄνδρα
σε καὶ δεινὸν ἀκούομεν. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἰδίους νόμοις οὐθὲν
ἔχομεν ἐγκαλεῖν, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων πειρασόμεθα
μένειν, σὺ δ' ἐτέρωθί που βάδιζε λαβὼν παρ' ἡμῶν εἴ του
κεκρημένος [τῶν ἀναγκαίων] τυγχάνεις.” ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν
Λοκρῶν πόλεως τὸν εἰρημένον ἀπηλλάγη τρόπον, εἰς Τάραντα
πλεῦσαι. πάλιν δὲ κάκεῖ παραπλήσια παθόντα τοῖς περὶ
Κρότωνα εἰς Μεταπόντιον ἐλθεῖν. πανταχοῦ γὰρ ἐγένοντο
μεγάλαι στάσεις, ὥς ἐτι καὶ νῦν οἱ περὶ τοὺς τόπους μνημονεύ-
ουσί τε καὶ διηγοῦνται, τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων καλοῦντες.
[Πυθαγόρειοι δ' ἐκλήθησαν ἢ σύστασις ἅπασα ἢ συνακολου-
θήσασα αὐτῷ.] ἐν δὲ τῇ περὶ Μεταπόντιον καὶ Πυθαγόραν αὐτὸν
λέγουσι τελευτήσαι καταφυγόντα ἐπὶ τὸ Μουσῶν ἱερόν, σπάνει
τῶν ἀναγκαίων τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας διαμείναντα.

4 cf. Iamblichus, *De vita Pyth.* 249; Plut., *De genio Socratis* 13 583A

4 παρεδρεύοντας] συνεδρεύοντας Nauck 5 ἕκαστοι Usener: εἰς ἄστν *codd.*
7 τὸν Rittershusius: τὴν *codd.* 14 τῶν ἀναγκαίων *expunxit Cobet* 20–1
Πυθαγόρειοι—αὐτῷ *secl. Nauck*

pens happens again at some time according to certain cycles, that,
in short, there is nothing new, and that it is necessary to believe that
all ensouled beings are of the same kind. For it appears that
Pythagoras was the first to bring these teachings into Greece.

41A Porphyry, *Life of Pythagoras* 56–7 (CB p.63.4–64.1 des Places)

Dicaearchus and the more accurate reporters say that Pythagoras
was present during the conspiracy. For Pherecydes died before
ejection from Samos. Forty of his companions were caught sitting
gathered at someone's house, but most perished scattered across
the city, wherever each happened to be. When his friends were
overwhelmed, Pythagoras at first reached refuge safely at Caulonia,
and from there went to Locri. When the Locrians discovered this,
they sent some of the elders to the borders of their territory. Ap-
proaching him, they said, “Pythagoras, we hear that you are a wise
and crafty man. But since we have no accusation to make on the
basis of our laws, we ourselves shall attempt to remain within the
present (arrangements). But you, take from us if you happen to
have need of something and go somewhere else.” When he left the
city of Locri in the aforesaid way, he sailed to Tarentum. There
again he had experiences very similar to those at Croton, and went
to Metapontum. For everywhere there were great revolutions, which
they recall and discuss even now in those places, calling them the
(revolutions) in the time of the Pythagoreans. [And the entire group
following him was called Pythagorean.] They say that Pythagoras
died, because of a lack of necessities, in the area around
Metapontum, having fled to the temple of the Muses and remained
there forty days.

- 41B Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 8.40 (OCT t.2 p.410.11–13 Long)

φησὶ δὲ Δικαίαρχος τὸν Πυθαγόραν ἀποθανεῖν καταφυγόντα εἰς τὸ ἐν Μεταποντίῳ ἱερὸν τῶν Μουσῶν, τετταράκοντα ἡμέρας ἀσιτήσαντα.

1–3 cf. *Themistius*, 23 *Sophistes* 285b

1 καταφυγόντα BP: ἀποφυγόντα F

- 42 Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 4.11.14 (OCT t.1 p.178.26–179.3 Marshall)

Pythagoram vero ipsum sicuti celebre est Euphorbum primo fuisse dictasse, ita haec remotiora sunt his, quae Clearchus et Dicaearchus memoriae tradiderunt, fuisse eum postea Pyrandrum, deinde Aethaliden deinde feminam pulcra facie meretricem cui nomen fuerat Alco.

2 *Clearchus*, fr. 10 *Wehrli*

3 *Pyrandrum Wehrli*: *pyrrandum vel pyrrandum codd. meliores*: *Pyrrum Hertz et Marshall* 4 *Aethaliden Hosius alii*: *thalidena vel talidena codd.*

- 43 Plutarchus, *An seni sit gerenda res publica* 26 796C–797A (BT t.5.1 p.53.17–54.28 Hubert et Drexler)

παρὰ πάντα δὲ ταῦτα χρὴ μνημονεύειν, ὥς οὐκ ἔστι πολιτεύεσθαι μόνον τὸ ἄρχειν καὶ πρεσβεύειν καὶ μέγα βοᾶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ περὶ τὸ βῆμα βακχεύειν λέγοντας ἢ γράφοντας, ἀοὶ πολλοὶ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι νομίζουσιν, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ δίφρου διαλεγόμενους καὶ σχολὰς ἐπὶ βιβλίοις περαίνοντας. ἡ δὲ συνεχὴς ἐν ἔργοις καὶ πράξεσιν ὁρῶμένη καθ' ἡμέραν ὁμαλῶς πολιτεία καὶ φιλοσοφία λέληθεν αὐτούς. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς στοαῖς ἀνακάμπτοντας περιπατεῖν φασίν, ὥς ἔλεγε Δικαίαρχος, οὐκέτι δὲ τοὺς εἰς ἀγρὸν ἢ πρὸς φίλον βαδίζοντας. ὅμοιον δ' ἐστὶ τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι. Σωκράτης γοῦν οὔτε βάθρα θείς οὔτ' εἰς θρόνον καθίσας οὔθ' ὥραν διατριβῆς ἢ περιπάτου τοῖς γνωρίμοις τεταγμένην φυλάττων, ἀλλὰ καὶ παίζων ὅτε τύχοι καὶ συμπίνων

- 41B Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 8.40 (OCT v.2 p.410.11–13 Long)

Dicaearchus says that Pythagoras died after having fled to the temple of the Muses at Metapontum, after he had starved for forty days.

- 42 Gellius, *Attic Nights* 4.11.14 (OCT v.1 p.178.26–179.3 Marshall)

Just as is very well known, Pythagoras said that he had previously been Euphorbus, but what is more obscure than this, which Clearchus and Dicaearchus have committed to record, is that he was later Pyrandr, then Aethalides and then a woman prostitute with a beautiful face whose name was Alco.

- 43 Plutarch, *Old Men in Public Affairs* 26 796C–797A (BT v.5.1 p.53.17–54.28 Hubert and Drexler)

Above all it is necessary to recall that practising politics not only consists in holding office, going on embassies, shouting in the assembly and raving like a bacchant around the speaker's platform when speaking or proposing a law. That is what most think is characteristic of politics, just as they assume that those who discourse from a chair and write lectures in books are doing philosophy. But they overlook the regular practice of politics and philosophy that is daily seen alike in deeds and actions. For they say that those who are promenading up and down in the stoas are 'doing peripatetics', as Dicaearchus used to say, but those who stroll in the country or to a friend are not. Doing politics is like doing philosophy.¹ Socrates, at any rate, did philosophy, but he did not set up benches or sit on a throne. He did not keep a set time for conversing with his students

καὶ συστρατευόμενος ἐνίοις καὶ συναγοράζων, τέλος δὲ καὶ
[συν]δεδεμένος καὶ πίνων τὸ φάρμακον ἐφιλοσόφει, πρῶτος
E ἀποδείξας τὸν βίον ἅπαντι χρόνῳ καὶ μέρει καὶ πάθεσι καὶ
πράγμασιν ἅπλως ἅπασι φιλοσοφίαν δεχόμενον. οὕτω δὲ
διανοητέον καὶ περὶ πολιτείας, . . . τὸν δὲ κοινωνικὸν καὶ
φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόπολιν καὶ κηδεμονικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν
ἀληθῶς, κἂν μηδέποτε τὴν χλαμύδα περίθῃται, πολιτευόμενον
ἀεὶ τῷ παρορμῶν τοὺς δυναμένους, ὑφηγεῖσθαι τοῖς δεομένοις,
συμπαρεῖναι τοῖς βουλευομένοις, διατρέπειν τοὺς κακο-
πραγμονοῦντας, ἐπιρρωννύναι τοὺς εὐγνώμονας, φανερόν εἶναι
μὴ παρέργως προσέχοντα τοῖς κοινοῖς μηδ' ὅπου σπουδὴ τις ἢ
παράκλησις διὰ τὸ πρωτεῖον εἰς τὸ θέατρον βαδίζοντα καὶ τὸ
βουλευτήριον, ἄλλως δὲ διαγωγῆς χάριν ὡς ἐπὶ θεῶν ἢ
797 ἀκρόασιν, ὅταν ἐπέλθῃ, παραγινόμενον, ἀλλά, κἂν μὴ
παραγένηται τῷ σώματι, παρόντα τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τῷ πυνθάνεσθαι
τὰ μὲν ἀποδεχόμενον τοῖς δὲ δυσκολαίνοντα τῶν πραττο-
μένων.

7 ὁμαλῶς *Coraes*: οὐδαμῶς *codd.* 9 φασὶν *XJ'γφα*: φησὶν *Jy* 15 συν
del. Wytttenbach 16 χρόνῳ καὶ μέρει *BΠ*: μέρει χρόνῳ *O*: μέρει χρόνῳ
dub. Man.: χρόνῳ *del. Drexler*

44 Zenobius, *Epitome collectionum Lucilli Tarrhaei et Didymi* 3.65
(CPG t.1 p.73.6–13 Leutsch et Schneidewin)

ἐν πίθῳ τὴν κεραμεῖαν μανθάνω· παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν τὰς
πρώτας μαθήσεις ὑπερβαινόντων, ἀπτομένων δὲ εὐθέως τῶν
μειζόνων. ὡς εἴ τις μανθάνων κεραμεύειν, πρὶν μαθεῖν πίνακα
ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν μικρῶν πλάττειν, πίθῳ ἐγχειροῖ. Δικαίρχος δὲ
φησιν ἕτερόν τι δηλοῦν τὴν παροιμίαν, οἷονεὶ τὴν μελέτην ἐν
τοῖς ὁμοίοις ποιεῖσθαι, ὡς κυβερνήτης ἐπὶ τῆς νηὸς καὶ ἡνίοχος
ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων.

5–7 *cf. Arist., NE 2.1 1102a32–b12*

1–7 *Hesychius, Lexicon, s.v. ἐν πίθῳ* (no. 3276 t.1 p.107.31–108.2 Latte) 1 *cf.*
Plato, Gorgias 514e6, Laches 187b et [Plut.], Prov. Alex. 112

1 μανθάνω] μανθάνεις *B* 3 μειζόνων] μεγάλων καὶ τελείων *Hesychius*
6 ὁμοίοις: οἰκείοις *Hesychius* 7 τῶν ἵππων: τοῦ ἵππου *Hesychius*

or walking with them. He did philosophy just as he happened to
play and drink with them, serve in the military and share the mar-
ket-place, and in the end, as he was imprisoned and drank poison.
E He was the first to demonstrate the life at all times and in every
part, in all that he experienced and all that he did, that embraced
philosophy without qualification. Surely we must have the same
thoughts about politics . . . that the community-spirited, humane,
patriotic, concerned and political individual, even if he never wears
a *chlamys*, is always truly politically active by advising those in
power, guiding the needy, standing by those in deliberation, con-
verting those doing wrong, and supporting those with good judg-
ments; he clearly does not give (only) casual attention to public
concerns, and whenever some serious matter arises, or a summons,
he does not go to the theater and to the council, because of the first
prize, being there for the sake of entertainment with no purpose, as
if (he were) at a performance or recitation, but, even if he cannot be
797 there physically, he is present in thought and interest, approving
some of the things being done and showing displeasure at others.

¹ Since Dicaearchus speaks approvingly of the ancients who identified wis-
dom with the practice of doing good deeds (see 36.11), it seems that by *homoion*
he means a closer identification than we might assume: for Dicaearchus doing
philosophy and politics appear not just similar, but one and the same.
Cf. 44.4–7.

44 Zenobius, *Summary of the Collections of Lucillus Tarrhaeus and*
Didymus 3.65 (CPG v.1 p.73.6–13 Leutsch and Schneidewin)

I learn pottery on a wine-jar: A saying referring to those who
skip over their first lessons and immediately attempt greater things.
For example, if someone is learning to do pottery and before learn-
ing how to form tablets or some other small object tried his hand at
a wine-jar. Dicaearchus says that the saying means something else,
such as getting practice in similar things, as a helmsman on a ship
and a charioteer with horses.

- 45 Plutarchus, *Quaestiones convivales* 8.2 719A–B (BT t.4 p.262.19–263.7 Hubert)

οὐ γάρ τί που καὶ θεὸς δεῖται μαθήματος οἷον ὀργάνου
στρέφοντος ἀπὸ τῶν γενητῶν καὶ περιάγοντος ἐπὶ τὰ ὄντα τὴν
διάνοιαν· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐκεῖνα καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν,
ἀλλ' ὅρα μή τι σοι προσήκον ὁ Πλάτων καὶ οἰκείον αἰνιττόμενος
λέληθεν, ἅτε δὴ τῷ Σωκράτει τὸν Λυκούργον ἀναμινύς οὐχ
ἦττον ἢ τὸν Πυθαγόραν (ὥς) ᾤετο Δικαίαιχος· ὁ γὰρ Λυκούργος
οἶσθα δὴ πουθεν ὅτι τὴν ἀριθμητικὴν ἀναλογίαν, ὥς
δημοκρατικὴν καὶ ὀχλικὴν οὖσαν, ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαι-
μονος, ἐπεισήγαγεν δὲ τὴν γεωμετρικὴν, ὀλιγαρχίαν σώφρονι καὶ
βασιλείᾳ νομίμῃ πρέπουσαν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀριθμῷ τὸ ἴσον ἢ δὲ
λόγῳ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀπονέμει.

3 ἐκεῖνα Valckenaer: ἐκεῖναι codd. et Hubert 6 ὥς supplevit Osann

- 46A Philodemus, *Academicorum historia*, PHerc. 1021, col. 1.1–43
(p.148.1–150.13 Gaiser)

“... ἐνδε[χ]ομένων [μὲ]ν ἐπα-
νεκαίνισε πάλιν ἅπασαν,
τὴν τ' ἐ[παίδο]υσ[αν δι]ὰ τοῦτ'
ἐν τοῖς [λ]όγοις εὐρυθμίαν
προσέλαβεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πολ-
λὰ ἐπεισηνέγκατο ἰδ[ί]α, δι' ὧν
—εἴ γε διὰ παρρη[σίας δεῖ τ]ὰ γ[ε]-
νόμενα λέγειν—πλ[εῖστον]
δὴ τῶν πάντων [ἀνθρ]ώ-
πων οὗτος εὗξησε[ν φ]ιλο-
σοφίαν καὶ κατέλυσ[ε]. προ-
[ετ]ρέψατο μὲν γὰρ ἀπε[ίρ]ου[ς]
ὥς εἰπεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὴν διὰ
τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τῶν λ[ό]-
[γω]ν. ἐπιπολ[α]ίως δὲ καὶ
[τινάς] ἐπο[ί]ησε φιλοσοφεῖν
φανερὰν ἐκτρέ[πων] εἰ[ς]
τρι[βον]. φησὶ δ' ὅτι '[θεὸς τὸν ἀ]-
[ριθμὸν] καὶ τῇ[ν τ]ῶν ἄσ[τρων]

- 45 Plutarch, *Table Talk* 8.2 719A–B (BT v.4 p.262.19–263.7 Hubert)

For a god surely has no need at all for mathematics as some instrument for turning his mind away from created things and directing it around to what really exists. For those things exist in him, with him and regarding him. But see whether Plato, without your notice, may enigmatically have suggested something proper and familiar to you, since he mixed Lycurgus no less than Pythagoras with Socrates, <as> Dicaearchus thought. For I suppose you know that Lycurgus expelled the arithmetic model from Lacedaemon as being democratic and mob-oriented. He introduced the geometric, since it fits a temperate oligarchy and a lawful monarchy. For the one distributes equality by number, the other an amount according to worth by means of proportion.

- 46A Philodemus, *History of the Academics*, PHerc. 1021, col. 1.1–43
(p.148.1–150.13 Gaiser)¹

“... Out of what he received, (Plato) renewed (philosophy) again entirely, and added the pleasant rhythm that accompanies it in his dialogues on account of this.² But he himself introduced many of his own thoughts, through which—since I must say frankly what happened—this man of all people most strengthened philosophy and subverted it. For he converted (so to speak) countless people to it through the recording of his dialogues. However, he also made some do philosophy superficially by diverting them onto a ready-made path. He says, ‘god gave number and the sight of the stars as a guide for doing philosophy’, so that those who neither learned

[ὅψιν τ]οῦ φιλ[οσ]οφεῖν ἐνδό-
 σιμον ἔδω[κεν], ὥστε μήτε [με]-
 μαθηκότα[ς φα]σμάτων
 τε μηδὲν μ[ήπ]οτ[ε βουλομέ]-
 νους μαθε[ῖν οὐ] μόνον εἰς
 τὸ τῶν φιλ[οδόξων αὐτ]οὺς
 καταριθμε[ῖ πλῆθος, ἀ]λλὰ
 καὶ π[λημμελεῖς νομίζ]ει. φα-
 [νερῶς δ' ὁρμᾶν ἔ]ξεσ[τιν εἰς]
 [τὴν τρίβον ἐκεί]νη[ν], ὅ[τι] σο-
 [φῶς γέγραφε· 'χρ]ῆ τοῦ[ς] ἀν[θρ]ώ-
 [πους τὸν "Ερωτα τιμᾶν καὶ]
 [τὰ ἐρωτικὰ διαφερόντως]
 [ἀσκεῖν τῷ τ' "Ερωτι πάντας]
 ἀ[εὶ] πε[ρὶ]θεσθ[αί], ὅ[ς] τε εἰς
 ἐκεῖνο[ν π]αράσπώμε-
 νο[ί] τι[νες] ἱκανὸν ἔχειν
 πρόβλη[μ]α τῆς ιδίας ἀμαθί-
 ας νομ[ίζ]ούσιν, μάλλον δὲ
 ἀ[ρε]τ[ῆς κτήσ]ιν, μόνοι τὴν
 τοῦ γ[ενναίου] καὶ σοφωτά-
 του διδ[ασκάλου] κατανοοῦν-
 τες π[α]ράινεσιν.] ὁ μὲν ἀπέ-
 [δειξεν οὗτος αὐ]τοῦ κατα-

1-6 cf. *Them.*, 26 318c-319a 18-27 cf. *Plat., Resp.* 7 522c-534e et 531d-
 532d, *Tim.* 47a-c; *Epinomis* 976c-978b 30-4 cf. *Plat., Symp.* 212b

ante 1 οὕτω τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐκ τῶν *Gaiser*: ἐκ τῶν *Mekler*: διὰ τῶν *Lasserre*
 1 [μὲ]ν *Lasserre, Gaiser, Dorandi*: [οὐ]ν *Arnim et Mekler* 3 ἐ[παίδου]σ[αν]
Gaiser: ἐ[λλείπου]σ[αν] *Arnim, Mekler, Lasserre* 8 π[λ]εῖστον *Praechter et*
Gaiser: π[ρ]ῶτος *Gomperz, Mekler, Lasserre* 11 κατέλυσ[ε] *Mekler, Dorandi,*
Lasserre: κατήνυσ[ε] *Gaiser* 15-16 καὶ 1 [τινας] *Gaiser*: κ. [ῥα]ιθύμως
Mekler: [ῥα]ιον *Lasserre* 39 ἀ[ρε]τ[ῆς κτήσ]ιν *Gaiser*: ἀ[μαρ]τ[ῆ]άνουσ[ιν]
Buecheler, Mekler, Lasserre

46B Philodemus, *Academicorum historia*, PHerc. 1021, col. Y.1-41
 (p.152.1-154.7 Gaiser)

[γνοὺς τ]ὸ δὲ συνά[ψα]ς παρέγρα[ψε].
 "κα[τε]νενόητο δέ" φη[σ]ί "καὶ τῶν μα-

nor ever wanted to learn anything from heavenly signs (Plato) not
 only counted among those who loved simply appearance, but also
 thought offensive. But clearly it is possible to set people onto that
 ready-made path, because he has wisely written, 'it is necessary for
 people to honor Love and to cultivate the elements of Love espe-
 cially and for everyone always to obey Love', so that those who
 are drawn to (Love) believe that they have a sufficient defense for
 their own lack of learning, or rather a store of virtue (such that)
 they alone understand the teaching of the noble and most wise
 teacher (Plato)."

This was one thing (Dicaearchus) pointed out in criticizing
 (Plato) . . .

¹ The Greekless reader of these texts should be alerted that the Greek text of
 Gaiser on which this translation is based includes many conjectures, only a few
 of which have gained widespread scholarly support (see Dorandi in this vol-
 ume). Gaiser's conjectures do allow, however, a readability that is scarcely pos-
 sible in the editions of more cautious editors.

² It is unclear what the "this" refers to. Gaiser suggests that it refers some-
 how to the combining of Pythagorean and Socratic philosophy. See 45.

46B Philodemus, *History of the Academics*, PHerc. 1021, col. Y.1-41
 (p.152.1-154.7 Gaiser)

And after he had connected the other part he (?)¹ wrote in addi-
 tion: "much progress was also acknowledged," he said, "in math-

θημάτων επίδοσις πολλή κατ' ἐκεῖ-
 ν[ον] τὸν χρόνον ἀρχιτεκτονοῦντο[ς]
 μ[ἐ]ν καὶ προβλήματ[α] διδόντος τοῦ
 Π[λ]άτωνος, ζητούντων δὲ μετὰ σπου-
 [δῆ]ς αὐτὰ τῶν μαθηματικῶν. τοιγὰρ
 [ταύ]τη(ι) [τὰ] περὶ μετρολογίαν ἦλθεν
 [ἐπὶ κορυ]φήν τότε πρῶτον καὶ τὰ περὶ
 [τοὺς ὀρι]σμοὺς προβλήματα τῶν περὶ
 Ε[ὐ]δοξ[ου] μεταστησάντων τὸν ἀ[φ'] Ἰπ[πο]-
 κ[ρά]τους ἀρχαισμόν. ἔλαβε [δὲ καὶ]
 ἡ γε[ωμ]ετρία πολλὴν ἐπίδοσιν· ἐγε[ν]-
 νήθη[ν] γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἀνάλυσις καὶ τὸ περὶ
 διορισμοὺς λήμ[μα], καὶ ὕλω[ς] τὰ π[ε]ρὶ
 [τ]ῆν γεωμετρίαν ἐπὶ πολὺ π[ρο]ήν[ε]ν-
 κ[ον]· οὐδέν τε [ὀπ]τ[ικ]ὴ καὶ μη[χ]ανικ[ή]
 [γ'] ἦσαν [ἀ]μ[ε]λείς. τὴν ἄπα[σαν δὲ] σ[υλ]-
 λ[ο]γὴν τῶν τοιούτω[ν, ἐξ ἧς ἔσχον ὁ]-
 [ν]ήσιμα συχνοὶ [τῶν σπε]ρμολόγων,
 αὐτῶν ἔνεκ' ἐποίησαν· σχεδὸν γὰρ [ρ]
 ἦν φοιτητῶ[ν γένος] ἄλλο, καὶ τῶ[ν]
 [γ]ε θερῶν τὸ ἰδ[ιω]τικόν ἀνέλαβον.
 [οὐ] μετα[λαβόντες δὲ τὰ πρά]γματ[α]
 [ἔ]σθην καὶ [κοινὴν σχολὴν ἦγον, καὶ]
 τοῦτον τ[ὸν βίον τότε κατ]ελ[ά]βο[ν]-
 [το] πρ[ῶτοι]· δι[είλοντο γὰρ] ἄλλο
 [μὲν] ἀνθρώπων ἐλευθέρων ἀ[ληθ]ι-
 [νὴν] συνουσίαν [κοινωνίαν τ' εἶναι],
 ἄ[λλο] δὲ Δάων καὶ [Γετῶν ἰσον]ομί[αν].
 τὰ [λ]ηθ[ῆς δὲ] καὶ [πρ]ὸς τοῦτο [τὰ μαθή]-
 μ[ατ'] ἀπήρτησαν τῶν ἀναγκ[αίων].
 οἱ γ[ὰρ] περὶ τῶν [ὄν]ησίμων [νο]οῦσι, δ[ι]καί-
 ως εἶ[ναι] δοκοῦσιν οἰκοτριβές. [τῇ δὲ γ]ρα-
 φικῇ[ι] δυνάμενος ὁ Πλάτων πολλ[οὺς ἐ]-
 θάρ[συ]νε καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων τοῖς [βυβ]λίοι[ς].
 ἰδιώτατ'—οἱδ' οὖν—τῶν ἀπερηρεῖ[κό]των
 ἢ τε Ἄξι[ο]θέα συνπαρεγέν[ετο, καὶ σ]οφῇ
 γ' οὐ[ν] ἦ[ν] ἀνδρὸς ἐπ' ἀ[ρε]τῇ[ι πάντ' ἐπ]ι-
 ν[οήσα]σα καὶ γνωῦσα, καὶ δὴ κοιν[ω]ν[ή]σ[α]-

ematics at that time, since Plato was designing and setting out prob-
 lems and the mathematicians were investigating them seriously.
 Consequently, in this way the theory of measurement and the prob-
 lems of definition first reached a high point then, once those asso-
 ciated with Eudoxus revised the older style of Hippocrates. Geom-
 etry also made much progress then; for the analytical method was
 created then and the auxiliary theorem regarding definitions, and,
 in general, they brought the practice of geometry a great step for-
 ward. And in no way were optics and mechanics ignored. They
 created the entire collection of such (inquiries) as these for their
 own sake, from which a great many scavengers took profit. For
 there was another sort among those in attendance, and they took a
 private interest in their rewards. Since they took no part in (public)
 affairs, they pursued an equal and shared scholarship, and they were
 at that time the first who attained this lifestyle. For they distin-
 guished true communalism and sharing of free men from the equality
 of the Dacians and Getae.² They separated the truth and studies
 directed toward it from those pursuits necessary (for living). For
 those who think (only) about what is useful are justly considered
 like household servants. Through the power of his writing, Plato
 even inspired many at a distance with books. Most peculiarly—I
 am aware—among those who submitted themselves (to his writ-
 ings), Axiothea joined in, and she was indeed a wise woman with
 regard to every quality of a man, since she reflected and under-
 stood, and in fact shared in wearing a worn-out cloak without a

[σα τοῦ τ]ρίβωνο[ς ἄ]νευ αἰσ[χύνης· ἐ]φοίτ[α]

2–18 cf. *Procl., In primum Euclidis Elementorum librum*, p.66.4–68.4 Friedlein
14 cf. *Diog. Laert. 3.24 et Procl., In prim. Eucl. El. libr.*, p.211.18–23 34–6 cf.
Epist. Socraticorum 22.2 35–7 *PHerc. 164, fr. 1* Dorandi

1 συνά[ψα]ς Gaiser: συνά[γω]ν Lasserre 1–2 παρέγρα[ψε] |κα[τε] Gaiser:
παρέγραψα [κατε] Dorandi

46C Philodemus, *Academicorum historia*, *PHerc. 1021*, col. 2.1–8
(p.157.1–8 Gaiser)

“... δὲ [ἄγνωστος τοῖς] ἄλλοις. [ὁ δὲ]
ἀτ[έλειαν ἐ]ποίηι φι[λανθ[ρ]ω-
πίαν [πᾶσι δ]ούς, ὅ[τι] προί[ε]-
το ἴσ[οις] ἴσα.” τοιαῦτα γέγρα-
φότο[ς Δ]ικαίάρχου, Φιλόχ[ο]-
ρος ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀθ[η]ν[ῶν] ἐ-
κτῷ παρέ(ι)παι[σ]εν ἐπὶ τὸ [ὄνο]-
[μα τ]αῦτ’.

7 παρέ(ι)παι[σ]εν Mekler et Gaiser: παρέπιπτεν Croenert et Jacoby

47 Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 3.4 (OCT t.1 p.122.13–
23 Long)

καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη μὲν γράμματα παρὰ Διονυσίῳ, οὗ καὶ
μνημονεύει ἐν τοῖς Ἀντερασταῖς. ἐγυμνάσατο δὲ παρὰ
Ἀρίστωνι τῷ Ἀργεῖῳ παλαιστῇ... εἰσὶ δ’ οἱ καὶ παλαισαῖ φασιν
αὐτὸν Ἰσθμοῖ, καθὰ καὶ Δικαίάρχος ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ βίων, καὶ
γραφικῆς ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ ποιήματα γράψαι, πρῶτον μὲν
διθυράμβους, ἔπειτα καὶ μέλη καὶ τραγωδίας.

1–2 *Plato, Amatores* 132A 2–4 cf. *Apul., De Plat.* 1.2

5 ἐπιμεληθῆναι... γράψαι BP: ἐπεμελήθη... ἔγραψε F

48 Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 3.38 (OCT t.1 p.137.22–
5 Long)

λόγος δὲ πρῶτον γράψαι αὐτὸν τὸν Φαῖδρον. καὶ γὰρ ἔχειν

sense of shame. But she attended . . .”

¹ The consensus of most scholars (see Dorandi and White in this collection)
is that despite Gaiser’s intuitions, the source of this text is not Dicaearchus but
Philip of Opus.

² Cultures considered uncivilized and servile by the Greeks.

46C Philodemus, *History of the Academics*, *PHerc. 1021*, col. 2.1–8
(p.157.1–8 Gaiser)

“... without being recognized by the others. (Plato) sometimes
made a payment exemption, and was benevolent to everyone, be-
cause he freely gave ‘equal for equals’.” Although Dicaearchus
has written these sorts of things, Philochorus in the 6th book of his
Anthis mocked Plato’s name, saying . . .

47 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 3.4 (OCT v.1 p.122.13–
23 Long)

(Plato) was taught his letters at the school of Dionysius, whom
he also recalls in his *Rival Lovers*. He did gymnastics with Ariston
of Argos the wrestler... There are others who say that he wrestled
in the Isthmian games, like Dicaearchus in the first book *On Lives*,
and that he practised painting and writing poetry, first dithyrambs,
then also lyric poems and tragedies.

48 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 3.38 (OCT v.1
p.137.22–5 Long)

There is an account that (Plato) wrote the *Phaedrus* first. For

μεираκιῶδές τι τὸ πρόβλημα. Δικαίαιρχος δὲ καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς
 γραφῆς ὅλον ἐπιμέμφεται ὡς φορτικόν.

$$1 \text{ ἔχειν } B : \text{ἔχει } FP$$

- 49 Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 4.71 (BT p.398.1–5 Pohlenz)

atque horum omnium lubidinosos esse amores videmus; philosophi sumus exorti, et auctore quidem nostro Platone, quem non iniuria Dicaearchus accusat, qui amoris auctoritatem tribueremus.

 $2 \text{ et}] \text{ ex } G^i$

- 50 Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 3.46 (OCT t.1 p.140.19-141.3 Long)

μαθηταὶ δ' αὐτοῦ . . . καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους, σὺν οἷς καὶ γυναῖκες
 δύο, Λασθένεια Μαντινικὴ καὶ Ἀξιιοθέα Φλειασία, ἡ καὶ
 ἀνδρεῖα ἡμίσχετο, ὥς φησι Δικαίαιρχος.

1–2 *cf.* Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae* 4.2

2 Λασθένεια *Seminarii Basil. sodales*: Λανθάνεια *codd.*

- 51 Philodemus, *Academicorum historia*, PHerc. 164, fr. 22.1-7 = PHerc. 1021, col. 11.17-21 (p.179.15-21 et 225 Dorandi)

] υπ [
] περασσιακον . [
 Δικ[αίαρχός φησιν
 [.]ιοντα. ἄλλα τε
 δειξάμενος διὰ
 τὸ λμης ἔργα κα[λὰ
]εν[

*In PHerc. 1021, col. 11.17–21 haec tantum leguntur: ἀποδειξάμ[ενος | διὰ τῆς
τόλ]μης ἔργα κα[λὰ*

the subject has something youthful about it. But Dicaearchus criticizes the whole manner of the writing on the grounds that it is vulgar.

- 49 Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 4.71 (BT p.398.1–5 Pohlenz)

But we see that the love poetry of all of these (Alcaeus, Anacreon, Ibycus) is lustful: we philosophers have arisen, indeed under the authority of our Plato—whom Dicaearchus criticizes not unjustly—to give authority to love.

- 50 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 3.46 (OCT v.1
p.140.19-141.3 Long)

Students of (Plato)... and many others, including two women, Lastheneia of Mantinea and Axiothea of Phlius, who, Dicaearchus says, used to wear men's clothing.

- 51 Philodemus, *History of the Academics*, *PHerc.* 164, fr. 22.1–7 = *PHerc.* 1021, col. 11.19–21 (p.179.1–5 and 225 Dorandi)

... Dicaearchus says . . .
Because (Chaeron)¹ had demonstrated
other fine deeds through his
boldness . . .

¹ Chaeron, a student of Plato, is the subject of this part of Philodemus' work.

56 Dicaearchus of Messana

- 52 Philodemus, *De Stoicis*, PHerc. 155, fr. 15 (CE 12 [1982] 104.29 Dorandi)

καὶ Δ]ικαί[αρχο[ς]
]κ[.]του βίου σημ[αί
νει]αριστ[

1-2 διὰ τοῦ Ἡρα]κ[λε]ίτου Croenert 3 Ἀριστ. Croenert

De humana vita

- 53 Censorinus, *De die natali* 4.2-4 (BT p.4.18-5.10 Sallman)

alii semper homines fuisse nec umquam nisi ex hominibus natos, atque eorum generi caput exordiumque nullum extitisse arbitrati sunt, alii vero fuisse tempus cum homines non essent, et his ortum aliquem principiumque natura tributum. sed prior illa sententia, qua semper humanum genus fuisse creditur, auctores habet Pythagoran Samium et Ocellum Lucanum et Archytan Tarentinum omnesque adeo Pythagoricos. sed et Plato Atheniensis et Xenocrates et Dicaearchus Messenius itemque antiquae Academiae philosophi non aliud videntur opinati, Aristoteles quoque Stagiritis et Theophrastus multique praeterea non ignobiles Peripatetici idem scripserunt eiusque rei exemplum dicunt quo negant omnino posse reperiri, avesne ante an ova generata sint, cum et ovum sine ave et avis sine ovo gigni non possit. itaque et omnium, quae in sempiterno isto mundo semper fuerunt futuraque sunt, aiunt principium fuisse nullum, sed orbem esse quendam generantium nascentiumque, in quo unius cuiusque geniti initium simul et finis esse videatur.

6 Ocellus, *FVS* 48 A2 Archytas deest *FVS* 47 7 Plato, cf. *Leges* 6 781 E7
Xenocrates, fr. 59 Heinze 9 Aristoteles, *De gen. anim.* 2.1 731b35-36
Theophrastus, 185 *FHS&G*

5 creditur] traditur Wehrli 6 Ocellum Diels: Ocellum Canter et Sallman
occeium CP alii codices habent alia Archytan edd.: adrenytan CP: architam
V: archita I 11 exemplum Giusta: exempla codd. 16 quo Sallman: quod
codd. edd.

- 52 Philodemus, *On the Stoics*, PHerc. 155, fr. 15 (CE 12 [1982] 104.29 Dorandi)

... and Dicaearchus ...
of life indicates ...

Cultural History

- 53 Censorinus, *About the Day of Birth* 4.2-4 (BT p.4.18-5.10 Sallman)

Some have thought that human beings have always existed and have never been born except from human beings, and that there has been no inception or origin of their species; others, however, (say) that there was a time when human beings did not exist, and that some origin and beginning was assigned to them by nature. The former opinion, according to which the human race is believed to have existed always, has as its supporters Pythagoras of Samos and Ocellus of Lucania and Archytas of Tarentum and absolutely all of the Pythagoreans. Moreover Plato the Athenian and Xenocrates and Dicaearchus of Messana and likewise the (other) philosophers of the Old Academy do not seem to have held a different opinion; and Aristotle of Stagira too and Theophrastus and many not undistinguished Peripatetics besides wrote the same. And as an illustration of this point they say that it is altogether impossible to find out whether birds or eggs were created first, since it is the case both that the egg cannot come to be without the bird and that the bird cannot come to be without the egg. And so they say that of all the things that have always existed in this eternal universe and always will exist, there has been no beginning; rather, there is a certain cycle of those who produce and of those who are born, in which the beginning and the end of each and everything that is begotten seem to coincide.

54 Varro, *De re rustica* 2.1.3–9 (CB t.2 p.13.7–16.9 Heurgon)

- igitur, inquam, et homines et pecudes cum semper fuisse sit
 necesse natura—sive enim aliquod fuit principium generandi
 animalium, ut putavit Thales Milesius et Zeno Citieus, sive contra
 principium horum exstitit nullum, ut credidit Pythagoras Samius et
 Aristoteles Stagiritēs—necesse est humanae vitae a summa memoria
 gradatim descendisse ad hanc aetatem ut scribit Dicaearchus, et
 summum gradum fuisse naturalem, cum viverent homines ex iis re-
 4 bus, quae inviolata ultro ferret terra; ex hac vita in secundam
 descendisse pastoriciam e feris atque agrestibus, ut arboribus ac
 virgultis [ac] decarpendo glandem, arbu[s]tum, mora, poma
 colligerent ad usum, sic ex animalibus cum propter eandem utilitat-
 em quae possent silvestria deprenderent ac concluderent et man-
 suescerent. in quis primum non sine causa putant oves assumptas et
 propter utilitatem et propter <p>laciditatem. maxime enim hae
 natura quietae et aptissimae ad vitam hominum. ad cibum enim lacte
 5 et caseum adhibitum, ad corpus vestitum et pelles attulerunt. tertio
 denique gradu a vita pastorali ad agri culturam descenderunt, in qua
 ex duobus gradibus superioribus retinuerunt multa, et quo descend-
 erant, ibi processerunt longe, dum ad nos perveniret. etiam nunc in
 locis multis genera pecudum ferarum sint aliquot, ab ovibus, ut in
 Phrygia, ubi greges videntur conplures, in Samothrace caprarum,
 quas Latine rotas appellant. sunt enim in Italia circum Fiscellum et
 Tetricam montes multae. de subus nemini ignotum, nisi qui apros
 non putat sues vocari. boves perferi etiam nunc sunt multi in
 Dardanica et Maedica et Thracia, asini feri in Phrygia et <Ly>caonia,
 equi feri in Hispania citeriore regionibus aliquot.
- 6 origo, quam dixi; dignitas, quam dicam. de antiquis inlustrissimus
 quisque pastor erat, ut ostendit et Graeca et Latina lingua et veteres
 poetae, qui alios vocant polyarnas, alios polymelos, alios polybutas;

54 Varro, *On Farming* 2.1.3–9 (CB v.2 p.13.7–16.9 Heurgon)

- "Therefore," I said, "humans and domesticated animals must
 always have existed by nature—for whether there was some begin-
 ning of generation for animals, as Thales of Miletus and Zeno of
 Citium thought, or there existed no beginning for them, as
 Pythagoras of Samos and Aristotle of Stagira believed, human life
 must have come down by steps from the earliest history until our
 time, as Dicaearchus writes, and the earliest stage was natural, when
 humans lived from those things that the inviolate earth bore spon-
 4 taneously. From this mode of life they must have descended to the
 second, pastoral mode, in which, by plucking from wild and wood-
 land trees and shrubs acorns, arbutus berries and mulberries and
 (other) fruits, they made a store for (later) use. Likewise toward
 the same purpose, they captured such wild animals as they could
 and shut them up and tamed them. Among these they believe, not
 without reason, that sheep were gathered because of their useful-
 ness and gentleness. For they were especially quiet by nature and
 fit very well with the human lifestyle. Milk and cheese were added
 to the (humans') food, and for clothing the body (the sheep) fur-
 5 nished their skins. Finally, in the third stage they arrived from the
 pastoral life to the agricultural, in which they maintained many
 things from the previous two stages and then progressed for a long
 time in that stage in which they had descended until it arrived at
 our civilization. Even now in many places there are several kinds
 of wild herds, such as sheep, as in Phrygia, where many flocks are
 seen; in Samothrace (many flocks) of goats (are seen), which they
 call *rotas* in Latin.¹ There are indeed many of them in Italy around
 the mountains Fiscellus and Tetrica. Everyone knows about the
 wild pigs, except those who believe that wild boars are not prop-
 erly called pigs. There are also many very wild bulls now in Dardania
 and Maedica and Thrace, wild asses in Phrygia and Lyconia and
 wild horses in some areas of Hither Spain.
- 6 I have spoken (so far) about the origin (of agriculture); I shall
 now speak of its dignity. From ancient times every famous man
 was a shepherd, as both the Greek and Latin shows and the older
 poets, who called some men 'rich in sheep,' others 'rich in goats';
 and others 'rich in oxen'; they reported that the sheep themselves

- qui ipsas pecudes propter caritatem aureas habuisse pelles tradiderunt, ut Argis, Atreus quam sibi Thyesten subduxerit, ut in Colchide <ad> Aeetam, ad cuius arietis pellem profecti regio genere dicuntur Argonautae; ut in Libya ad Hesperidas, unde aurea mala, id est secundum antiquam consuetudinem capras et oves, [quas] Hercules ex Africa in Graeciam exportavit. eas enim <as> sua voce Graeci appellarunt mela. nec multo secus nostri ab eadem voce sed ab alia littera (vox earum non me sed be sonare videtur) oves baelare vocem efferentes dicunt, e quo post balare extrita littera, ut in multis. quod si apud antiquos non magnae dignitatis pecus esset, in caelo describendo astrologi non appellarent eorum vocabulis signa, quae non modo non dubitarunt ponere, sed etiam ab iis principibus duodecim signa multi numerant, ab Ariete et Tauro, cum ea praeponerent Apollini et Herculi. ii enim dei ea secuntur, sed appellantur Gemini. nec satis putarunt de duodecim signis sextam partem obtinere pecudum nomina, nisi adiecissent, ut quartam tenere<n>t, Capricornum. praeterea a pecuariis addiderunt Capram, Haedos, Canes. an non etiam item in mari terraque ab his regiones notae [a pecore], in mari, quod nominaverunt a capris Aeg<a>eum pelagus, ad Syriam montem Taurum, in Sabinis Cantherium montem, <Bosporum> unum Thracium, alterum <Ci<m>merium>? nonne in terris multa, ut oppidum in Graecia Hippium Argos? denique non Italia a vitulis, ut scribit Piso?

1 pecudes *m*: pecu (pecd) vel pecua ceteri codd. 10 ac expunxit Lucundus [s] expunxit Politian. 14 p supplevit Politian. 19 ad nos Victorius: annus codd. 22 Latine rotas] platycerotae Scaliger: strepsicerotae Schneider 25 Lycaonia Plinius: chaonia codd. 32 ad Aeetam Keil: actam codd. 33 Libya Politian.: libro codd. 35 quas expunxit Gesner a supplevit Ursinus 46 n supplevit Lucundus 47 an non Politian.: anno codd. 48 regiones A: regionibus VA¹bm, edd. -num Luc. a pecore expunxit Gesner 50 Bosporum supplevit Politian.

55 Varro, *De re rustica* 1.2.15–16 (CB t.1 p.16.18–17.6 Heurgon)

certe, inquit Fundanius, aliud pastio et aliud agri cultura, sed adfinis et ut dextra tibia alia quam sinistra, ita ut tamen sit quodam

- had golden fleeces because of their value, like the one at Argos, which Atreus complains Thyestes stole for himself; or there was the one at Colchis belonging to Aeetes, in quest of whose fleece the Argonauts, of royal kind, are said to have voyaged. In Libya in the garden of the Hesperides there were golden *mala*, i.e. goats and sheep according to the ancient manner of speech, which Hercules took from Africa to Greece. For the Greeks called them *mela* from the sound of their voice, and our people not very differently say that sheep *baelare* ('bah') when using their voice (their voice seems to sound 'b' not 'm') from which afterwards (we have) *balare* ('to bleat'), once a letter is removed, as in many words. But if among the ancients sheep and goats had not had great dignity, in describing the sky the astrologers would not have called the signs by their names, which they not only did, but many even enumerate the twelve beginning with them, from the Ram (Aries) and Bull (Taurus), which they place before Apollo and Hercules. For those gods follow them, but they are called Gemini.² Not satisfied that a sixth of the twelve had the names of cattle they added Capricorn ('Goathorn') to make up a quarter. From the domestic animals, besides, they added the Goat, Kids and Dogs. Both by sea and on land are not areas known (as named) from these, by sea what they called the Aegean Sea from goats, in Syria Mount Taurus ('Bull'), Mount Cantherius ('Gelding') in the Sabine region, and both the Thracian and Cimmerian Bosporus ('Cattle-crossing')? Are there not many places on land like the town in Greece called Horsey Argos? Finally, is not Italy from 'bulls', as Piso³ writes?

¹ The text is corrupt here. *Rotae* would mean 'chariots'. What appears to be needed is some word like *oreobatae* (ὄρειβάται), 'mountain-ranging'.

² Like the other signs of the zodiac, the constellation Gemini ('Twins') was first identified by the Babylonians. In Greece they were usually identified with the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, or with Amphion and Zethus of Thebes, but their identification with Heracles and Apollo, who were half-brothers, was not unheard of.

³ M. Pupius Piso was a politician and soldier active c. 83–60 B.C. 'Italia' is derived from *vitulus*, 'bull.'

55 Varro, *On Farming* 1.2.15–16 (CB v.1 p.16.18–17.6 Heurgon)

"Certainly," said Fundanius,¹ "the shepherding of stock is one thing, agriculture another, but they are related as the right pipe of

modo coniuncta, quod est altera eiusdem carminis modorum
 16 incentiva, altera succentiva. et quidem licet adicias, inquam,
 pastorum vitam esse incentivam, agricolarum succentivam auctore
 doctissimo homine Dicaearcho, qui Graeciae vita qualis fuerit ab
 initio nobis ita ostendit, ut superioribus temporibus fuisse doceat,
 cum homines pastoriciam vitam agerent neque scirent etiam arare
 terram aut serere arbores aut putare; ab iis inferiore gradu aetatis
 susceptam agri culturam. quocirca ea succinit pastorali, quod est
 inferior, ut tibia sinistra dextrae foraminibus.

7 doceat Vb: docent Am 10 ea Ursinus: ei codd. 11 dextrae Heurgon:
 addextre A: a dextrae ceteri et Wehrli

56A Porphyrius, *De abstinentia ab esu animalium* 4.2.1–9 (CB t.3 p.1.16–
 4.7 Patillon et Segonds)

ἀρξώμεθα δ' ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ ἔθνη τινῶν ἀποχῆς, ὧν ἡγήσονται
 τοῦ λόγου οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὡς ἂν τῶν μαρτυρούντων ὄντας
 οἰκειότατοι. τῶν τοίνυν συντόμως τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀκριβῶς τὰ
 Ἑλληνικὰ συναγαγόντων ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ Περιπατητικὸς Δικαίαρχος,
 ὃς τὸν ἀρχαῖον βίον τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀφηγούμενος τοὺς παλαιούς
 καὶ ἐγγὺς θεῶν φησὶ γεγονότας, βελτίστους τε ὄντας φύσει καὶ
 τὸν ἄριστον ἐζηκότας βίον, ὡς χρυσοῦν γένος νομίζεσθαι
 παραβαλλομένους πρὸς τοὺς νῦν, κιβδήλου καὶ φαυλοτάτης
 2 ὑπάρχοντας ὕλης, μηδὲν φονεύειν ἔμψυχον. ὃ δὴ καὶ τοὺς
 ποιητὰς παριστάντας χρυσοῦν μὲν ἐπονομάζειν γένος,
 ἐσθλὰ δὲ πάντα, λέγειν,
 τοῖσιν ἔην· καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
 αὐτομάτη πολλόν τε καὶ ἄφθονον· οἳ δ' ἐθελήμοι
 ἥσυχοι ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο σὺν ἐσθλοῖσιν πολέεσσιν
 3 ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐξηγούμενος ὁ Δικαίαρχος τὸν ἐπὶ Κρόνου βίον τοιοῦτον
 εἶναι φησίν, εἰ δεῖ λαμβάνειν μὲν αὐτὸν ὡς γεγονότα καὶ μὴ
 μάτην ἐπιπεφημισμένον, τὸ δὲ λίαν μυθικὸν ἀφέντας, εἰς τὸ διὰ

the flute is other than the left, yet in such a way that they are con-
 nected in a certain way, because the one is the lead, the other the
 10 accompaniment of the melodies of the same song." "Indeed, you
 may add," I said, "that the life of shepherding is the lead, agricul-
 tural the accompaniment, according to the authority of a most
 learned man, Dicaearchus, who has shown us in his *Life of Greece*
 what quality it had from its beginning. In the earlier times, he
 teaches, when people led a pastoral life they knew neither how to
 plough the earth nor how to plant trees nor how to prune. At a time
 later than this they took up agriculture. Therefore (agriculture)
 accompanies the pastoral life, because it is secondary, as the left
 pipe of the flute is to the stops of the right hand."

¹ C. Fundanius was Varro's father-in-law and one of the interlocutors in book
 one of *On Farming*.

56A Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 4.2.1–9 (CB v.3 p.1.16–4.7 Patillon and
 Segonds)

Let us begin with the abstinence (from eating meat) of some
 nations, of whom the Greeks will lead our discussion since they
 would be the most suitable witnesses. Among those, therefore, that
 have concisely and at the same time accurately composed an ac-
 count of the affairs of the Greeks, there is included the Peripatetic
 Dicaearchus, who in narrating the ancient life of the Greeks says
 that the men of old, who were actually born close to gods, were
 naturally most excellent, and led the best life, so that they are re-
 garded as a golden race, when compared with those of the present
 day, who consist of an adulterated and most vile matter; and they
 2 killed no animate being. The truth of this, he also says, is attested
 by the poets, who call these ancients a Golden Race, and assert that

All good things were theirs, the grain-giving fields of their
 own accord bore much fruit ungrudgingly. Willing and at peace,
 they enjoyed their possessions with many good things.

3 In explanation of this, Dicaearchus says that life under Cronus was
 of this kind—since it is necessary to accept that it did exist, that it
 has not been renowned to no purpose, but also, by laying aside

- τοῦ λόγου φυσικὸν ἀνάγειν. αὐτόματα μὲν γὰρ πάντα ἐφύετο, εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὶ γε κατεσκευάζον οὐθὲν διὰ τὸ μήτε τὴν γεωργικὴν ἔχειν πῶ τέχνην μήθ' ἑτέραν μηδεμίαν ἀπλῶς. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τοῦ σχολῆν ἄγειν αἴτιον ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ διαίγειν ἄνευ πόνων καὶ μερίμνης, εἰ δὲ τῇ τῶν γλαφυρωτάτων ἱατρῶν ἐπακολουθησάι δεῖ διανοίᾳ, καὶ τοῦ μὴ νοσεῖν. οὐθὲν γὰρ εἰς ὑγίειαν αὐτῶν μείζον παράγγελμα εὖροι τις ἢ τὸ μὴ ποιεῖν περιττώματα, ὧν διὰ παντὸς ἐκείνοι καθαρὰ τὰ σώματα ἐφύλαττον. οὔτε γὰρ τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἰσχυροτέραν τροφήν ἄλλ' ἢς ἡ φύσις ἰσχυροτέρα προσεφέροντο, οὔτε τὴν πλείω τῆς μετρίας διὰ τὴν ἐτοιμότητα, ἀλλ' ὥς τὰ πολλὰ τὴν ἐλάττω τῆς ἱκανῆς διὰ τὴν σπάνιν. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ πόλεμοι αὐτοῖς ἦσαν οὐδὲ στάσεις πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ἄθλον γὰρ οὐθὲν ἀξιόλογον ἐν τῷ μέσῳ προκείμενον ὑπῆρχεν, ὕπερ ὅτου τις ἂν διαφορὰν τοσαύτην ἐνεστήσατο, ὥστε τὸ κεφάλαιον εἶναι τοῦ βίου συνέβαινε σχολῆν, ῥαθυμίαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ὑγίειαν, εἰρήνην, φιλίαν.
- τοῖς δὲ ὑστέροις ἐφιεμένοις μεγάλων καὶ πολλοῖς περιπίπτουσι κακοῖς ποθεινὸς εἰκότως ἐκείνος ὁ βίος ἐγένετο. δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ λιτὸν τῶν πρώτων καὶ αὐτοσχέδιον τῆς τροφῆς τὸ μεθύτερον ῥηθὲν "ἄλις δρυός," τοῦ μεταβάλλοντος πρώτου, οἷα εἰκός, τοῦτο φθεγξαμένου.
- ὕστερον ὁ νομαδικὸς εἰσῆλθεν βίος, καθ' ὃν περιττοτέραν ἤδη κτήσιν προσπεριεβάλλοντο καὶ ζώων ἦσαν, κατανοήσαντες ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀσινῇ ἐτύγχανεν ὄντα, τὰ δὲ κακοῦργα καὶ χαλεπὰ καὶ οὕτω δὴ τὰ μὲν ἐτιθάσευσαν, τοῖς δὲ ἐπέθεντο, καὶ ἅμα ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ βίῳ συνεισῆλθεν πόλεμος. καὶ ταῦτα, φησὶν, οὐχ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' οἱ τὰ παλαιὰ ἱστορίᾳ διεξελθόντες εἰρήκασιν. ἤδη γὰρ ἀξιόλογα κτήματα ἐνυπῆρχον, ἃ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ παρελῆσθαι φιλοτιμίαν ἐποιοῦντο, ἄθροίζόμενοί τε καὶ παρακαλοῦντες ἀλλήλους, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ διαφυλάττειν. προϊόντος δὲ οὕτω τοῦ χρόνου, κατανοοῦντες κατὰ μικρὸν ἀεὶ τῶν χρησίμων εἶναι δοκούντων, εἰς τὸ τρίτον τε καὶ γεωργικὸν ἐνέπεσον εἶδος.

- what is excessively mythical, to reduce it to natural terms based on reason. All things, therefore, are very reasonably said to have grown of their own accord; for men themselves did not procure anything because they were still unacquainted with the agricultural art, or, in fact, any other art. This very thing, likewise, was the cause of their being at leisure and living free from labours and care; and if it is proper to assent to the view of the most skillful physicians, it was also the cause of their being free from disease. For one could find no prescription which contributed more to their health than avoiding the production of excesses, from which those Greeks of old always preserved their bodies pure. For they neither consumed food that was stronger than their nature, but (only) such that their nature was stronger, nor more than is moderate because of its ready availability, but for the most part less than (we would consider) sufficient, on account of its scarcity. Moreover, they neither had wars nor dissensions against each other. For no reward worth mentioning was set before them, for the sake of which someone might begin such dissension, so that that life consisted mainly of leisure and rest from necessary occupations, together with health, peace and friendship. And, of course, to those in later times, who aspired after great things and fell into many evils, this ancient life became desirable. The simple and extemporaneous food of the early men is manifested in the saying that was afterwards used, "enough of oak," this adage being introduced by the man who first changed (his mode of living), as seems reasonable.
- The pastoral life succeeded this, in which men began to procure superfluous possessions for themselves, and handle animals. They perceived that some of them were not in fact harmful, but others destructive and difficult, so they tamed the former and attacked the latter. At the same time, together with this life, war was introduced. And these things, says (Dicaearchus), are not asserted by us, but by those who have spoken after researching thoroughly ancient matters. For, as possessions were now worthwhile, some made it a point of honor to seize them (from others) by gathering themselves together and calling on each other (for help), but others (made it a point of honor) to protect (what they had). Time, thus, gradually proceeding, and men concerned evermore with what appeared to be useful, they entered the third, agricultural form of life.

- 9 ταυτὶ μὲν Δικαιάρχου τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν διεξιόντος μακάριόν τε τὸν βίον ἀφηγουμένου τῶν παλαιτάτων, ὃν οὐκ ἦν τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἡ ἀποχὴ τῶν ἐμψύχων συνεπλήρου. διὸ πόλεμος οὐκ ἦν, ὥς ἂν ἀδικίας ἐξεληλαμένης· συνεισῆλθεν δὲ ὕστερον καὶ πόλεμος καὶ εἰς ἀλλήλους πλεονεξία ἅμα τῇ τῶν ζώων ἀδικίᾳ. ὃ καὶ θαυμάζω τῶν τολμησάντων τὴν ἀποχὴν τῶν ζώων ἀδικίας μητέρα εἶπείν, τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ τῆς πείρας ἅμα τῷ φόνῳ αὐτῶν τρυφήν τε καὶ πόλεμον καὶ ἀδικίαν συνεισελθεῖν μηνυούσης.

11–14 Hesiodus, *Opera et dies* 116–19 37 de proverbio ἄλις δρυός *vid. Zenob.* 2.40

19 μήτε *Reiske*: μήπω V 20 γεωργικὴν *Nauck*: γεωργίαν V 22 τῇ *Reiske*: τι V 26–7 ἄλλ'... ἰσχυροτέρα *exunxit Nauck* 28 τῆς ἱκανῆς *exunxit Nauck* 35 ἐγίγνετο V: ἐφαίνετο *Nauck* 40 προσπεριεβάλλοντο V: προσπεριεβάλλοντο *Nauck* 48 κατὰ μικρὸν *ante* ἀεὶ *traiecerunt Patillon et Segonds*: *ante* οὕτω *habet V*

- 56B Hieronymus, *Adversus Iovinianum* 2.13 (PL t.23 col. 315.42–316.5 Migne)

Dicaearchus in libris *Antiquitatum et Descriptione Graeciae* refert sub Saturno (id est in aureo saeculo), cum omnia humus funderet, nullum comedisse carnem, sed universos vixisse frugibus et pomis quae sponte terra gignebat.

- 57 Zenobius, *Epitome collectionum Lucilli Tarrhaei et Didymi* 5.23 (CPG t.1 p.125.3–11 Leutsch et Schneidewin)

μερὶς οὐ πνίγει. Δικαίάρχος φησιν ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις μὴ εἶναι σύνηθες τοῖς ἀρχαίοις διανέμειν μερίδας. διὰ δὲ προφάσεις τινὰς ἐνδεεστέρων γενομένων τῶν ἐδεσμάτων, κρατῆσαι τὸ ἔθος τῶν μερίδων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν παροιμίαν εἰρησθαί. τῶν γὰρ ἐδεσμάτων κοινῇ καὶ μὴ κατὰ μέρος τιθεμένων τὸ πρότερον οἱ δυνατώτεροι τὰς τροφὰς τῶν ἀσθενῶν ἥρπαζον, καὶ συνέβαινε τούτους ἀποπνίγεσθαι, μὴ δυναμένους ἑαυτοῖς βοηθεῖν. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ὁ μερισμὸς ἐπενοήθη.

- 9 This is (what is said) by Dicaearchus when he narrates the ancient affairs of the Greeks and relates as blessed the life of the earliest people, to which abstinence from animal food contributed no less than other things. Therefore there was no war, inasmuch as injustice had been driven out. But later, together with injustice towards animals, came war and competition towards each other. That is why I wonder at those who dare to say that abstinence from animals is the mother of injustice, since enquiry and experience reveal that luxury, war and injustice came in together with their slaughter.

- 56B Jerome, *Against Jovinian* 2.13 (PL v.23 col. 315.42–316.5 Migne)

Dicaearchus in the books of *Antiquities* and *Description of Greece* says that under Saturn, that is, in the golden age, when the earth provided all things, no one ate meat, but all lived from the fruits and vegetables that the earth bore spontaneously.

- 57 Zenobius, *Summary of the Collections of Lucillus Tarrhaeus and Didymus* 5.23 (CPG v.1 p.125.3–11 Leutsch and Schneidewin)

"A portion does not choke." Dicaearchus says in the books *On Greece* that at the meals it was not the custom for the ancients to distribute portions. But when for some reasons shortages of meats occurred, the custom of portions prevailed, and the saying was coined because of this. For earlier, when meats were set out as common dishes and not in individual portions, the more powerful seized the food from the weaker, and it happened that these choked to death because they were not able to save themselves. For this reason then the portioning was contrived.

- 58 Scholion in Apollonii Rhodii *Argonautica* 4.272–4 (p.277.24–278.3 Wendel)

Δικαίαρχος δὲ ἐν α' Ἑλλάδος βίου Σεσόγχωσιν, καὶ νόμους αὐτὸν θεῖναι λέγει, ὥστε μηδένα καταλιπεῖν τὴν πατρίαν τέχνην. τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπολαμβάνειν ἀρχὴν εἶναι πλεονεξίας. καὶ πρῶτον φησιν αὐτὸν εὐρηκέναι ἵππων ἄνθρωπον ἐπιβαίνειν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν Ὠρον, οὐ τὸν Σεχόγχωσιν.

1–2 *in fine scholii habet P* καὶ τοῦτο δέ φησι Δικαίαρχος ἐν β' Ἑλληνικοῦ βίου Σεσώστριδι μεμεληκέναι. 2 αὐτὸν *expunxit Wendel*

- 59 Scholion in Apollonii Rhodii *Argonautica* 4.276 (p.278.8–12 Wendel)

Δικαίαρχος δὲ ἐν α' μετὰ τὸν Ἰσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδος Ὠρον βασιλέα γεγενῆσθαι Σεσόγχωσιν. γίνεται δὲ ἀπὸ Σεσογχώσεως ἐπὶ τὴν Νείλου βασιλείαν ἔτη ,βφ', (ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Νείλου βασιλείας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ζ'), ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἰλίου ἁλώσεως ἐπὶ τὴν α' Ὀλυμπιάδα υλς', ὁμοῦ ,β' λμγ'.

2 Σεσόγχωσιν—Σεσογχώσεως *L*: Σεσώστρις—Σεσώστριδος *P* 3 ἀπὸ—ἄλωσιν ζ' *supplevit Keil*: ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἰλίου ἁλώσεως *L*: ἀπὸ τῆς Νείλου βασιλείας *P* 4 ,βμγ' *L*: ,βπλς' *P*

sub finem scholii habet L Δικαίαρχος δέ φησιν ἐν β' Ἑλλάδος βίου Σεσόγχωσιν

- 60 Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica*, s.v. Χαλδαῖοι (p. 680.4–14 Meineke)

ἐκλήθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ Χαλδαίου τινός, ὡς Δικαίαρχος ἐν πρώτῳ τοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος βίου. τούτων δὲ συνέσει καὶ δυνάμει διάφορον γενόμενον τὸν καλούμενον Νίνον τὴν ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ συνοικίσαι πόλιν. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τέταρτον ἐπὶ δέκα βασιλέα γενόμενον, ᾧ τοῦνομα Χαλδαῖον εἶναι λέγουσιν, ὃν φασὶ καὶ Βαβυλῶνα τὴν ὀνομαστοτάτην πόλιν περὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν κατασκευάσαι, ἅπαντας εἰς ταῦτο συναγαγόντα τοὺς

- 58 Scholium on Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica* 4.272–4 (p.277.24–278.3 Wendel)

Dicaearchus in the first book of the *Life of Greece*¹ (calls him) Sesonchosis² and says that he established laws that no one should abandon his father's trade. For he assumed that this was the origin of greed. (Dicaearchus) says that he was the first man to discover mounting horses. Others (say) that Oros (Horus) did these things, not Sesonchosis.

¹ At the end of the scholium, P adds, "Dicaearchus in book 2 of *Greek Life* says Sesonchosis was responsible for this."

² One of the scholia reads "Sesostris," the version of his name that appears in Hdt. 2.102–10, which is a composite account of several Egyptian rulers of the Twelfth Dynasty (2040–1785) called Senwosret in Egyptian. In Egyptian propaganda "Sesostris" came to embody an ideal kingship.

- 59 Scholium on Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica* 4.276 (p.278.8–12 Wendel)

In the first book¹ Dicaearchus says that after Oros (Horus), the son of Isis and Osiris, Sesonchosis became king. From Sesonchosis to the kingship of Nilus was 2500 years, <from the kingship of Nilus to the destruction of Ilium was 7 years>, from the capture of Ilium to the first Olympiad was 436 years, altogether 2943 years.

¹ Under this scholium L adds, "Dicaearchus in book 2 of *Life of Greece* (says) Sesonchosis."

- 60 Stephen of Byzantium, *Place-Names*, on *Chaldaeans* (p.680.4–14 Meineke)

They were named after a certain Chaldaeus, as Dicaearchus says in the first book of his *Life of Greece*. Of them the one called Ninus became outstanding in intelligence and power and settled a city named after himself. From this time, the fourteenth king was, they say, Chaldaeus by name, who they say built Babylon, the most renowned city, around the river Euphrates, collecting all those called

καλουμένους Χαλδαίους, λέγεται καὶ Χαλδαία χώρα. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ Χαλδαῖοι ἔθνος πλησίον τῆς Κολχίδος. Σοφοκλῆς Τυμπανισταῖς· Κόλχος τε Χαλδαῖός τε καὶ Σύρων ἔθνος.

9 Sophocles, fr. 638 Radt

2 τούτων Neue: τούτω vel τοῦτον codd.

- 61 Eustathius, *Commentarium in Dionysii perigetæ orbis descriptionem* 767 (GGM t.2 p.350.34–44 Müller)

χώρα δὲ Ἀρμενίας ἡ Χαλδία, ἥς μέχρις ἡ Ποντικὴ βασιλεία τοὺς δὲ ἐκεῖσε Χάλδους λέγεσθαι ἐπικρατεῖ ἡ συνήθεια διςυλλάβως, οὐ Χαλδαίους. Χαλδαῖοι γὰρ τριςυλλάβως οἱ ποιεῖν Κηφῆνες, ἀπὸ δὲ Περσέως Πέρσαι· Χαλδαῖοι κληθέντες ἀπὸ τινος Χαλδαίου, ὃν φασὶ τέταρτον ἐπὶ δέκα, ἤγουν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκατον, βασιλέα μετὰ Νίνον γενόμενον τὴν Βαβυλῶνα οἰκίσαι, καὶ τοὺς συναχθέντας καλέσαι ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Χαλδαίους, λέγονται μέντοι παρὰ τινων καὶ οἱ περὶ τὴν Κολχίδα Χάλδοι Χαλδαῖοι τριςυλλάβως, κατὰ Δικαίαρχον.

- 62 Hypothesis in Euripidis *Medeam* 27–9 (BT p.4.5–7 Van Looy)

τὸ δράμα δοκεῖ ὑποβαλέσθαι παρὰ Νεόφρονος διασκευάσας, ὡς Δικαίαρχος (ἐν) πρ(ώτῳ) τοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος βίου καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν ὑπομνήμασι.

1 Neophron., fr. 15 TrGF Snell; cf. Suda, s.v. Νεόφρων et Diog. Laert. 2.134
Aristot., fr. 635 Rose³

1 ὑποβαλέσθαι] παραβαλέσθαι Hn 2–3 ὡς ... ὑπομνήμασι om. Pet Ambrosius
2 (ἐν) πρ(ώτῳ) Luppe (RhM 135 [1992] 94): (ἐν) Van Looy: (ἐν α) vel κῆμ.
Klotz τοῦ τῆς W: τοῦ τε FHn: περὶ τοῦ τε A

- 63 Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica*, s.v. Δώριον (p.251.6–9 Meineke)

πόλις μία τῶν τριῶν ὧν Ὅμηρος μνημονεύει “καὶ Πτελεὸν καὶ Ἑλος καὶ Δώριον.” Δικαίαρχος δὲ τέτταρας ταύτας εἶναι φησι, καὶ Πτελέας, οὐ Πτελεὸν τὴν μίαν καλεῖ, κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον

Chaldaeans into the same spot. A land is also called Chaldaea, and there is a race (of people called) Chaldaeans near Colchis. Sophocles in the *Tympanistai*: “Colchian and Chaldaean and the race of Syrians.”

- 61 Eustathius, *Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes' Guide to the World* 767 (GGM v.2 p.350.34–44 Müller)

Chaldia is a region of Armenia up to which the Pontic kingdom extends. According to customary usage, the people there are called “Chaldi,” in two syllables, not Chaldaeans. For the “Chaldaeans,” in three syllables, were once the “Cephenes,” and then “Persians” after Perseus; the Chaldaeans were named after a certain Chaldaeus, who they say became the fourth after ten, i.e., the 14th, king after Ninus and settled Babylon. And he named those gathered Chaldaeans after himself. The Chaldi around Colchis are also said by some, however, to be “Chaldaeans” in three syllables, according to Dicaearchus.

- 62 Hypothesis to Euripides' *Medea* 27–9 (BT p.4.5–7 Van Looy)

(Euripides) appears to have passed off the play as his own, having reworked it (from an original) by Neophron, as Dicaearchus says in the first book of his *Life of Greece* and Aristotle in the *Memoranda*.

- 63 Stephen of Byzantium, *Place-Names*, on *Dorium* (p.251.6–9 Meineke)

One of the three cities that Homer mentions, “and Pteleum and Helus and Dorium.” Dicaearchus says that these are four and he calls the one Ptelea, not Pteleum, according to the first book of the

τοῦ Βίου τῆς Ἑλλάδος βιβλίον.

1-2 *Hom.*, *Il.* 2.594

2 τέτταρας *dubitat Meineke*, *qui proponit* Θετταλίας

- 64 Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica*, s.v. πάτρα (p.511.17-512.13 *Meineke*)

ἐν τῶν τριῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι κοινωνίας εἰδῶν, ὡς Δικαίάρχος ἃ δὴ καλοῦμεν πάτραν φρατρίαν φυλὴν. ἐκλήθη δὲ πάτρα μὲν εἰς τὴν δευτέραν μετάβασιν ἐλθόντων ἢ κατὰ μόνας ἐκάστω πρότερον οὖσα συγγένεια, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου τε καὶ μάλιστα ἰσχύσαντος ἐν τῷ γένει τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχουσα, ὃν ἂν τρόπον Αἰακίδας ἢ Πελοπίδας εἴποι τις. φατρίαν δὲ συνέβη λέγεσθαι καὶ φρατρίαν, ἐπειδὴ τινες εἰς ἑτέραν πάτραν ἐδίδουσαν θυγατέρας ἑαυτῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τῶν πατριωτικῶν ἱερῶν εἶχε κοινωνίαν ἢ δοθεῖσα, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν τοῦ λαβόντος αὐτὴν συνετίλει πάτραν, ὥστε πρότερον πόθος τῆς συνόδου γιγνομένης ἀδελφαῖς σὺν ἀδελφῷ ἑτέρα τις ἱερῶν ἐτέθη κοινωνικὴ σύνοδος, ἣν δὴ φρατρίαν ὠνόμαζον. καὶ πάλιν ὥστε πάτρα μὲν ὅνπερ εἶπομεν ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας τρόπον ἐγένετο μάλιστα τῆς γονέων σὺν τέκνοις καὶ τέκνων σὺν γονεῦσι, φρατρία δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν φυλὴ δὲ καὶ φυλέται πρότερον ὠνομάσθησαν ἐκ τῆς εἰς τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ καλούμενα ἔθνη συνόδου γενομένης. ἕκαστον γὰρ τῶν συνελθόντων φύλον ἐλέγετο εἶναι.

2 φρατρίαν *RX*: φατρίαν *AV* 6 φατρίαν *Buttmann*: πατρίαν *codd.* 7 πάτραν *Buttmann*: φάτραν *vel* φράτραν *codd.* 12 φρατρίαν *Buttmann*: πατρίαν *codd.* 14 τέκνων *Buttmann*: τέκνα *codd.*

- 65 Scholion in *Homeri Iliadem* 6.396 (t.1 p.244.3-10 *Dindorf*)

Γράνικος, οἱ δὲ Ἀτραμυς, Πελασγὸς τὸ γένος, ἀφίκετό ποτε ὑπὸ τὴν ἐν τῇ Λυκίᾳ Ἴδην, καὶ πόλιν κτίσας ἐκεῖσε ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσηγόρευσεν Ἀδραμύτιον. γεννήσας δὲ θυγατέρα Θήβην τῷ ὀνόματι, παρὰ τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ γάμου ἔθετο γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὸν ταύτης γάμον τῷ ἀριστεύσαντι. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ φανείς ἔλαβε τὴν Θήβην γυναῖκα, καὶ κτίσας πόλιν ὑπὸ τὸ Πλάκιον καλούμενον ὄρος τῆς Λυκίας Πλακίαν Θήβην αὐτὴν

Life of Greece.

- 64 Stephen of Byzantium, *Place-Names*, on *patra* (p.511.17-512.13 *Meineke*)

One of the three forms of union among the Greeks, as Dicaearchus says, which we call *patra*, *phratría* and *phyle*. The kinship existing first for each person individually on coming into the second generation is called *patra*; it has its name from the oldest and strongest in the clan, as one might say Aeacidae or Pelopidae. There is said to be a *phatria* and *phratría* when some have given their daughters into another *patra*. For the woman who is given away no longer has a sharing in the rites of her father's people, but she contributes to the same *patra* as her husband, so that earlier, because of the longing of sisters for the meeting with a brother to occur, another shared meeting of rites was established, which they called a *phratría*. And again, the *patra* came about from kinship in the way we mentioned, especially of parents with children and children with parents, and the *phratría* from the siblings. A *phyle* and *phyletai* were earlier named from the association that came to become cities and what are called tribes. For each of (the groups) that came together used to be called a *phyle*.

- 65 Scholion on *Homer, Iliad* 6.396 (v.1 p.244.3-10 *Dindorf*)

Granicus, others (say) Atramys, a Pelasgian by race, came then to Mount Ida in Lycia, and having founded a city there called it Adramyttion after himself. After he had fathered a daughter named Thebe, when she was ready for marriage, he arranged an athletic contest and (promised) her in marriage to the best athlete. At that moment, Heracles appeared and took Thebe as his wife, and having founded a city under what is called the Placian mountain of

ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκάλεσεν. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Δικαίάρχῳ.

1-8 cf. Erbse, p.197 3-7 cf. schol. in Hom. Il. 1.366C

1 Ἄτραμος Müller: ἀτράμους cod. 7 Λυκίας] Κυλικίας Müller

- 66 Scholion in Euripidis Andromacham 1 (p.247.10-12 Schwartz)

τὴν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ λέγει Ὑπυπλάκιον Θήβην, ἥς Ἡετίων ἐβασίλευσεν. Δικαίάρχος φησιν ἐνθάδε ἀπόσπασμά τι τοῦ μετὰ τοῦ Κάδμου στόλου οἰκῆσαι.

2 ἀπόσπασμά τι τοῦ Schwartz: ἀποσπάσματος MN: ἀποσπασάντα O 3 οἰκῆσαι] οἰκῶν NO

- 67 Clemens Alexandrinus, Protrepticus ad Graecos 2.30.7 (GCS t.1 p.23.2-7 Stählin)

Δικαίάρχος δὲ σχιζίαν, νευρώδη, μέλανα, γρυπὸν, ὑποχαροπὸν, τετανότριχα.

- 68 Zenobius, Epitome collectionum Lucilli Tarrhaei et Didymi 4.26 (CPG t.1 p.91.4-6 Leutsch et Schneidewin)

Ἡράκλειος νόσος· Δικαίάρχος φησι τὴν ἱερὰν νόσον Ἡράκλειον ὀνομάζεσθαι. εἰς ταύτην γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μακρῶν πόνων περιπεσεῖν φασὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα.

1-3 Par. Graec. Suppl.B474 (p.61.19-22 Leutsch et Schneidewin)

1 νόσος: ψώρα B 2 πόνων: πόρων codex Atheniensis 1083 (S.B. München [1910] 22) 3 φασὶ: omisit codex Atheniensis 1083

- 69 Phlegon, Mirabilia 4-5 (Paradoxographi Graeci p.130.24-131.20 Westermann)

ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος καὶ Δικαίάρχος καὶ Κλείταρχος καὶ Καλλίμαχος καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς περὶ Τειρεσίου τάδε. Τειρεσίαν τὸν Εὐήρους ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ [ἄνδρα] ὄντα ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἐν Κυλλήνῃ ὄφεις ἰδόντα ὀχεύοντας τρῶσαι τὸν ἕτερον καὶ παραχρῆμα

Lycia, he called it Placian Thebe after his wife. The story is in Dicaearchus.

- 66 Scholion on Euripides, *Andromache* 1 (p.247.10-12 Schwartz)

She (Andromache) means Hypoplacian Thebe, where (her father) Eetion was king. Dicaearchus says that a detachment of Cadmus' expedition settled there.

- 67 Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptic to the Greeks* 2.30.7 (GCS v.1 p.23.2-7 Stählin)

Dicaearchus (says) that (Heracles was) well defined, sinewy, dark, hook-nosed, somewhat bright-eyed and straight-haired.

- 68 Zenobius, *Summary of the Collections of Lucillus Tarrhaeus and Didymus* 4.26 (CPG v.1 p.91.4-6 Leutsch and Schneidewin)

Heracleian disease: Dicaearchus says that the sacred disease was called Heracleian. For they say Heracles fell ill as a result of it after his great labours.

- 69 Phlegon, *Miraculous Occurrences* 4-5 (*Greek Writers on Marvels* p.130.24-131.20 Westermann)

Hesiod, Dicaearchus, Clitarchus, Callimachus and some others report the following concerning Teiresias: Teiresias the son of Eucler, when he was in Arcadia (and) saw snakes mating on the mountain in Cyllene, wounded one of them and suddenly changed

μεταβαλεῖν τὴν ἰδέαν. γενέσθαι γὰρ ἐξ ἀνδρὸς γυναῖκα καὶ
μιχθῆναι ἀνδρί. τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτῷ χρήσαντος, ὥς ἔαν
τηρήσας ὀχεύοντας ὁμοίως τρώσῃ τὸν ἕνα ἔσται οἷος ἦν.
παραφυλάξαντα τὸν Τειρεσίαν ποιῆσαι τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ῥηθέντα
καὶ οὕτως (ἀνα)κομίσασθαι τὴν ἀρχαίαν φύσιν. Διὸς δὲ
ἐρίσαντος Ἥρα καὶ φαμένου ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις πλεονεκτεῖν
τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τῇ τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἡδονῇ καὶ τῆς Ἥρας
φασκούσης τὰ ἐναντία, δόξαι αὐτοῖς μεταπεμψαμένοις ἐρέσθαι
τὸν Τειρεσίαν διὰ τὸ τῶν τρόπων ἀμφοτέρων πεπειρᾶσθαι, τὸν
δὲ ἐρωτώμενον ἀποφῆνασθαι, διότι μοιρῶν οὐσῶν δέκα τὸν
ἄνδρα τέρπεσθαι τὴν μίαν, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα τὰς ἑννέα. τὴν δὲ
Ἥραν ὀργισθεῖσαν κατανύξαι αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ
ποιῆσαι τυφλόν, τὸν δὲ Δία δωρήσασθαι αὐτῷ τὴν μαντικὴν
καὶ βιοῦν ἐπὶ γενεὰς ἑπτὰ.

οἱ αὐτοὶ ἱστοροῦσιν κατὰ τὴν Λαπίθων χώραν γενέσθαι
Ἑλάτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ θυγατέρα, ὀνομαζομένην Καινίδα. ταύτῃ δὲ
Ποσειδῶνα μιγέντα ἐπαγγείλασθαι ποιῆσειν αὐτὴν ὃ ἂν ἐθέλῃ.
τὴν δὲ ἀξιῶσαι μεταλλάξαι αὐτὴν εἰς ἄνδρα ποιῆσαι τε
ἄτρωτον. τοῦ δὲ Ποσειδῶνος κατὰ τὸ ἀξιώθεν ποιήσαντος
μετονομασθῆναι Καινέα.

1 Hesiodos, cf. fr. 275 Merkelbach et West Clitarchus, FGrH 137 F 37 2
Callimachus, fr. 576–7 Pfeiffer

1 Κλείταρχος] Κλέαρχος Müller 3 Εὐήρους Meursius: εὐμάρους cod.
ἄνδρα ex puncto Keller 9 ἀνα supplevit Nauck 11 τῇ ... ἡδονῇ Hercher:
τῆς ... ἡδονῆς cod. et Westermann

70 Plutarchus, Theseus 32.5 (BT t.1.1 p.31.11–16 Ziegler)

ὁ δὲ Δικαίαρχος Ἐχέμου φησὶ καὶ Μαράθου συστρα-
τευσάντων τότε τοῖς Τυνδαρίδαις ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας ἀφ' οὗ μὲν
Ἐχεδημίαν προσαγορευθῆναι τὴν νῦν Ἀκαδήμειαν, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ
Μαραθῶνα τὸν δῆμον, ἐπιδόντος ἑαυτὸν ἑκουσίως κατὰ τι
λόγιον σφαγιάσασθαι πρὸ τῆς παρατάξεως.

1–3 de Echemo, Stephanus Byzantius, Ethnica, s.v. Ἐκαδήμεια, et Hesychius,
s.v., Dicaearcho non nominato

1 Ἐχέμου codd. et Dorandi (CQ 38 [1988] 577): Ἐχεδήμου anon. (Xylander?)
et Ziegler

his form. For he became a woman instead of a man and slept with
a man. When Apollo prophesied to him that if he should watch out
for snakes mating and similarly wound one of them (the male) he
(she) would again be such as he had been, Teiresias took care to do
what the god had said and thus regained for himself his original
nature. When Zeus was disputing with Hera and claiming that the
woman got more sexual pleasure than the man in their sexual unions
and Hera claimed the opposite, they decided to send for Teiresias
to give his opinion since he had experienced both ways. When
asked, he said that of the ten portions the man got one of pleasure,
the woman nine. In her anger Hera darkened his eyes and made
him blind, but Zeus gave him prophecy and made him live seven
generations.

The same people report that in the land of the Lapiths a daugh-
ter was born to King Elatus, named Caenis. When Poseidon had
intercourse with her and promised to do whatever she wished, she
demanded he change her into a man and make her invulnerable.
When Poseidon had done what was demanded, (her) name was
changed to Caineus.

70 Plutarch, Theseus 32.5 (BT v.1.1 p.31.11–16 Ziegler)

But Dicaearchus says that Echemus and Marathus of Arcadia
fought then alongside the Tyndaridae, from the first of these
(Echemus) the present Academy was named Echedemia, from the
second the town of Marathon, since, according to a certain story,
he voluntarily gave himself to be sacrificed before the line of battle.

Plutarch has just said that the Academy was named for a hero named
Academeus.

71 [Demetrius], *De elocutione* 181–2 (CB p.52.11–22 Chiron)

κᾶν μετροειδῆ δὲ ἦ, τὴν αὐτὴν ποιήσει χάριν, λανθανόντων
δέ τοι παραδύεται ἢ ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης ἡδονῆς χάρις. καὶ πλείστον
μὲν τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος ἐστὶ παρὰ τοῖς Περιπατητικοῖς καὶ παρὰ
Πλάτωνι καὶ παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι καὶ Ἡροδότῳ, τάχα δὲ καὶ παρὰ
Δημοσθένει πολλαχοῦ, Θουκυδίδης μὲντοι πέφυγε τὸ εἶδος.

- 2 παραδείγματα δὲ αὐτοῦ λάβοι τις ἂν τοιάδε, οἷον ὡς ὁ
Δικαίαρχος, “ἐν Ἑλέῳ,” φησί, “τῆς Ἰταλίας πρεσβύτη δὴ τὴν
ἡλικίαν ὄντι.” τῶν γὰρ κώλων ἀμφοτέρων αἱ ἀπολήξεις
μετροειδές τι ἔχουσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰρμοῦ καὶ τῆς συναφείας
κλέπτεται μὲν τὸ μετρικόν, ἡδονὴ δ’ οὐκ ὀλίγη ἔπεστι.

7 πρεσβύτη δὴ *Rademacher*: πρεσβύτ’ ἤδη *P. a.c.*: πρεσβύτην ἤδη *Pp.*:
πρεσβύτη ἤδη *M* 8 ὄντα] ὄντι *P et Rademacher*

72 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 14.39 636C–D (BT t.3 p.404.16–405.2 Kaibel)

- ἦν γὰρ δὴ τινα καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἐμφυσωμένων καὶ χορδαῖς
διειλημμένων ἕτερα ψόφου μόνον παρασκευαστικά, καθάπερ
τὰ κρέμβαλα. περὶ ὧν φησι Δικαίαρχος ἐν τοῖς *Περὶ τοῦ τῆς*
Ἑλλάδος βίου, ἐπιχωριάσαι φάσκων ποτὲ καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν εἰς
D τὸ προσορχεῖσθαι τε καὶ προσάδειν ταῖς γυναιξὶν ὄργανά τινα
ποιᾶ, ὧν ὅτε τις ἄπτοιτο τοῖς δακτύλοις ποιεῖν λιγυρὸν ψόφον.
δηλοῦσθαι δὲ ἐν τῇ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ᾠσμάτι οὗ ἐστὶν ἀρχή

Ἄρτεμι, σοὶ μέ τι φρήν ἐφίμερον
ὑμνον ὑ(φαινέμ)εναι θεόθεν
ἄδε τις ἀλλὰ χρυσοφά(ενν)α
κρέμβαλα χαλκοπάρα(ι)α χερσίν.

8–11 *Alcman*, fr. 60D *Bergk*

8 ἐφίμερον *Wilamowitz*: ἐφίησιν *codd.* 9 ὑ(φαινέμ)εναι *Bergk*: νεναί *codd.*
10 χρυσοφά(ενν)α *Bergk*: χρυσοφανία *codd.*

73 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 1.25 14D–E (CB t.1 p.32.9–14 Desrousseaux)

ὀρχήσεις δ’ εἰσὶ παρ’ Ὀμήρῳ αἱ μὲν τινες τῶν κυβιστητήρων,
αἱ δὲ διὰ τῆς σφαίρας. ἥς τὴν εὔρεσιν Ἀγαλλίς ἡ Κερκυραία

71 Pseudo-Demetrius, *On Style* 181–2 (CB p.52.11–12 Chiron)

Even something like a meter will achieve the same delight,¹ and
the delight of such pleasure steals in unnoticed. This form occurs
most often in the Peripatetics, in Plato, in Herodotus, and often in
Demosthenes, but Thucydides avoided the form.

One may take examples of this, e.g. what Dicaearchus says, “In
Elea in Italy, when he was already advanced in age.” The endings
of the two parts have a certain metrical form, and while the
metricality is concealed by the sequence and repetition of feet, the
pleasure (that results) is not small.²

¹ i.e., as something properly metrical.

² For an account of the metrical qualities discussed here, see Chiron, p.119.

72 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 14.39 636C–D (BT v.3 p.404.16–405.2 Kaibel)

For of course besides wind instruments and those divided by
strings there were other instruments, which are capable of provid-
ing only a loud noise, like the crembala. Concerning them,
Dicaearchus says in the books *On the Life of Greece* that they were
D a sort of instrument once exceedingly fashionable for women to
dance and sing to; when one touched them with the fingers they
made a ringing sound. It is clear in the hymn to Artemis which
begins:

To you, Artemis, my heart impels me
to sing a lovely hymn from the gods
Here some other (plays) in her hands golden shining
crembala with bronzen sides.

73 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 1.25 14D–E (CB v.1 p.32.9–14 Desrousseaux)

Some of the dances in Homer are by tumblers, others are per-
formed with a ball, the invention of which Agallis¹ the Corcyraean

γρημματική Ναυσικάα ἀνατίθησιν ὡς πολίτιδι χαριζομένη,
 E Δικαίαρχος δὲ Σικυωνίοις, Ἴππασος δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις ταύτην
 τε καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια πρώτοις.

1 κυβιστητήρων *edd.* : κυβιστήρων *codd.*

74 Plutarchus, *Theseus* 21.1–3 (BT t.1.1 p.18.22–19.3 Ziegler)

ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κρήτης ἀποπλέων εἰς Ἀῆλον κατέσχε, καὶ τῷ θεῷ
 θύσας καὶ ἀναθεῖς τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον ὃ παρὰ τῆς Ἀριάδνης ἔλαβεν,
 ἐχόρευσε μετὰ τῶν ἡιθέων χορείαν, ἣν ἔτι νῦν ἐπιτελεῖν Δηλῖοις
 λέγουσι, μίμημα τῶν ἐν τῷ Λαβυρίνθῳ περιόδων καὶ διεξόδων
 ἐν τινὶ ῥυθμῷ παραλλάξεις καὶ ἀνελίξεις ἔχοντι γιγνομένην.
 2 καλεῖται δὲ τὸ γένος τοῦτο τῆς χορείας ὑπὸ Δηλίων γέρανος, ὡς
 ἱστορεῖ Δικαίαρχος. ἐχόρευσε δὲ περὶ τὸν Κερατῶνα βωμόν, ἐκ
 3 κεράτων συνηρμοσμένον εὐωνύμων ἀπάντων. ποιῆσαι δὲ καὶ
 ἀγῶνά φασιν αὐτὸν ἐν Δήλῳ καὶ τοῖς νικῶσι τότε πρῶτον ὑπ'
 ἐκείνου φοῖνικα δοθῆναι.

7–8 cf. *Plut., Mor.* 983E

75 Zenobius, *Epitome collectionum Lucilli Tarrhaei et Didymi* 6.16
 (CPG t.1 p.166.6–9 Leutsch et Schneidewin)

τάδε Μῆδος οὐ φυλάξει· Δικαίαρχός φησιν, ὅτι μελλούσης
 τῆς Ξέρξου στρατείας γίνεσθαι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπογόντες τῆς
 σωτηρίας τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἀνήλiskon, ἐπιλέγοντες· Τάδε
 Μῆδος οὐ φυλάξει.

1–4 cf. *Pausanias Atticista*, s.v.

1 φυλάξει] λαφύξει *Kassel (Hermes 91 [1963] 57)*

76 Plutarchus, *Agesilaus* 19.9 (BT t.3.2 p.217.17–21 Ziegler)

ὁ μὲν οὖν Ξενοφῶν ὄνομα τῆς Ἀγησιλάου θυγατρὸς οὐ
 γέγραφε, καὶ ὁ Δικαίαρχος ἐπηγανάκτησεν, ὡς μήτε τὴν
 Ἀγησιλάου θυγατέρα μήτε τὴν Ἐπαμεινώνδου μητέρα
 γινωσκόντων ἡμῶν.

grammarian ascribes to Nausicaa inasmuch as she favoured her
 own countrywoman. But Dicaearchus ascribes it to the Sicyonians,
 and Hippasus ascribes it, as well as gymnastics, to the
 Lacedaemonians first.

¹ Desrousseaux thinks this is perhaps a daughter of Agallias of Corcyra.

74 Plutarch, *Theseus* 21.1–3 (BT v.1.1 p.18.22–19.3 Ziegler)

When sailing from Crete (Theseus) put in at Delos. And after
 sacrificing to the god and setting up the image of Aphrodite that he
 got from Ariadne, he danced with his youths a dance which they
 say even now the Delians perform, an imitation of the paths around
 and out of the Labyrinth in a rhythm having releases and tightenings.

2 This kind of dance is called 'the crane' by the Delians, as
 Dicaearchus reports. Theseus danced around the altar Keraton,
 3 which is constructed from all left horns. They say he also held a
 contest on Delos and palms were then given by him to the victors
 for the first time.

75 Zenobius, *Summary of the Collections of Lucillus Tarrhaeus and
 Didymus* 6.16 (CPG v.1 p.166.6–9 Leutsch and Schneidewin)

A Mede will not keep¹ these things: Dicaearchus says that when
 the campaign of Xerxes was about to come, the Greeks despaired
 for their own safety and destroyed their belongings, saying: "a Mede
 will not keep these things."

¹ Kassel has suggested the emendation 'devour'.

76 Plutarch, *Agesilaus* 19.9 (BT v.3.2 p.217.17–21 Ziegler)

Xenophon, then, has not written the name of the daughter of
 Agesilaus, and Dicaearchus was indignant that we know neither
 the daughter of Agesilaus nor the mother of Epaminondas.

- 77 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 13.5 557B (BT t.3 p.228.16–21 Kaibel)

Φίλιππος δ' ὁ Μακεδὼν οὐκ ἐπήγετο μὲν εἰς τοὺς πολέμους γυναικάς, ὥσπερ Δαρεῖος ὁ ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καταλυθείς, ὃς περὶ τῶν ὅλων πολέμων τριακοσίας ἐξήκοντα περιήγετο παλλακάς, ὥς ἱστορεῖ Δικαίαρχος ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος βίου, ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος αἰεὶ κατὰ πόλεμον ἐγάμει.

- 78 Cicero, *De officiis* 2.16–17 (OCT p.74.21–75.2 Winterbottom)

est Dicaearchi liber De interitu hominum, Peripatetici magni et copiosi, qui collectis ceteris causis eluvionis, pestilentiae, vastitatis, beluarum etiam repentinae multitudinis, quarum impetu docet quaedam hominum genera esse consumpta, deinde comparat, quanto plures deleti sint homines hominum impetu, id est bellis aut
 17 seditionibus, quam omni reliqua calamitate. cum igitur hic locus nihil habeat dubitationis, quin homines plurimum hominibus et prosint et obsint, proprium hoc statuo esse virtutis, conciliare animos hominum et ad usus suos adiungere.

2–3 cf. Plato, *Leg.* 3 677a et Arist., *Meteor.* 351b12 et Polybius 6.5.5

5 aut B: et B' 7 nihil] nil L 8 proprium hoc Z: primum et hoc X

- 79 Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 6.2.3 (BT t.1 p.220.7–22 Shackleton Bailey)

Peloponnesias civitates omnis maritimas esse hominis non nequam sed etiam tuo iudicio probati Dicaearchi Tabulis credidi. is multis nominibus in Trophoniana Chaeronis narratione Graecos in eo reprehendit, quod mare tantum secuti sunt nec ullum in Peloponneso locum excipit. cum mihi auctor placeret, etenim erat ἱστορικώτατος et vixerat in Peloponneso, admirabar tamen et vix accedens communicavi cum Dionysio; atque is primo est commotus, deinde, quod de isto Dicaearcho non minus bene existimabat quam tu de C. Vestorio, ego de M. Cluvio, non dubitabat quin ei crederemus: Arcadiae censebat esse Lepreon quoddam
 100 maritimum, Tenea autem et Aliphera et Tritia νεόκτιστα εἰ

- 77 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 13.5 557B (BT v.3 p.228.16–21 Kaibel)

Philip the Macedonian did not bring women into wars, as did the Darius deposed by Alexander, who (even) when making war concerning everything brought 360 concubines along, as Dicaearchus writes in the third book *On the Life of Greece*. But Philip always married in war.

- 78 Cicero, *On Duties* 2.16–17 (OCT p.74.21–75.2 Winterbottom)

There is a book *On Human Destruction* by Dicaearchus, a great and prolific Peripatetic. He collected all the other causes of destruction, flood, epidemic, famine, even sudden increases in the populations of wild animals by the onslaught of which, he teaches, certain tribes of humans have been entirely consumed. Then he makes a comparison of how many more humans have been destroyed by the onslaught of humans, that is, by war and revolutions, than by every other calamity. Therefore, since this point offers no doubt but that humans both help and hurt humans most, I conclude that it is the peculiar function of (human) excellence to conciliate human minds and to join them to its service.

- 79 Cicero, *To Atticus* 6.2.3 (BT v.1 p.220.7–22 Shackleton Bailey)

I trusted the *Accounts* of a man, Dicaearchus, who is not worthless but who is approved even by your judgement, (who said) that all the Peloponnesian states were on the sea. In the *Trophonian Story* of Chaeron,¹ he criticizes the Greeks in many respects because they only pursued the sea, and he did not except any place in the Peloponnesus. Although he pleased me as an authority, for he was “most given to enquiry” and had lived in the Peloponnesus, I wondered still and, scarcely believing it, corresponded with Dionysius²; he also was shaken at first; then, because he approved of your Dicaearchus no less than you do of C. Vestorius³ and I of M. Cluvius, he did not doubt that we should believe him: he thought Arcadia had a certain port (called) Lepreon, but Tenea, Aliphera

videbantur, idque τῷ τῶν νεῶν καταλόγῳ confirmabat, ubi mentio non fit istorum. itaque istum ego locum totidem verbis a Dicaearcho transtuli.

13–14 cf. Cic., *De rep.* 2.8

4 mare tantum *Orelli alii*: mare tam *codd.*: maritima *Shackleton Bailey* 7
accredens *Bosius*: adgredens, -iens *codd.* 8 de isto *Orelli alii*: cum de isto, de
deo cum isto *alia codd.*: de deo isto *Shackleton Bailey*: de Chaerone isto
Dicaearcho *Purser*

- 80 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 14.48 641E–F (BT t.3 p.417.9–14 Kaibel)

Δικαίαρχος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ τῆς Εἰς Τροφωνίου καταβάσεως
F φησιν οὕτως· “ἡ γε τὴν πολλὴν δαπάνην ἐν τοῖς δαίπνοις
παρέχουσα δευτέρα τράπεζα προσεγένετο, καὶ στέφανοι καὶ
μύρα καὶ θυμιάματα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα πάντα.”

- 81 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 13.67 594E–595A (BT t.3 p.311.4–18 Kaibel)

Δικαίαρχος δ' ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῆς εἰς Τροφωνίου καταβάσεως
F φησι· “ταῦτό δὲ πάθοι τις ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν ἀφικνού-
μενος κατὰ τὴν ἀπ' Ἐλευσίνος τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδὸν καλουμένην. καὶ
γὰρ ἐνταῦθα καταστάς, οὗ ἂν φανῇ τὸ πρῶτον ὁ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς
ἀφορώμενος νεὼς καὶ τὸ πόλισμα, ὅψεται παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτὴν
ῥοδομημένον μνημα οἷον οὐχ ἕτερον οὐδὲ σύνεγγυς οὐδὲν ἐστὶ
τῷ μεγέθει. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ὅπερ εἰκός, ἡ Μιλτιάδου
φήσειεν (ἂν) σαφῶς ἢ Περικλέους ἢ Κίμωνος ἢ τινος ἐτέρου τῶν
595 ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν εἶναι, (καὶ) μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως
δημοσίᾳ κατεσκευασμένον, εἰ δὲ μή, δεδομένον κατασκευά-
σασθαι. πάλιν δ' ὅταν ἐξετάσῃ Πυθιονίκης τῆς ἐταίρας ὄν, τίνα
χρὴ προσδοκίαν λαβεῖν αὐτόν;”

6–12 cf. *Paus.*, 1.37.5 et *Plut.*, *Phoc.* 22

3 κατὰ τὴν *Jacoby*: καὶ ταύτην A 4 φανῇ *Valckenar*: ἦ A ὁ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς
Meineke: εἰς Ἀθῆνας A 8 ἂν *supplevit Kaibel* 9 καὶ *suppl. Kaibel* 10
δεδομένον *Kaibel*: δεδομένον A

and Tritia appeared to him to be newly created, which he verified by the *Catalogue of Ships*, where there is no mention of them. And so I took over that passage from Dicaearchus verbatim.

¹ According to *Paus.* 9.40.5, Chaeron was the son of Apollo and Thero, after whom the Boeotian city of Chaeroneia was named. Dicaearchus apparently used the name for a character in his dialogue because of its Boeotian association.

² M. Pomponius Dionysius, a scholar and teacher, is praised by Cicero in *Ad Att.* 7.4.1.

³ C. Vestorius and M. Cluvius were businessmen from Puteoli, which was formerly called Dicaearchia. Cicero is not serious; he considered both men to be uncultivated (*Ad Att.* 14.12).

- 80 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 14.48 641E–F (BT v.3 p.417.9–14 Kaibel)

Dicaearchus in the first book of his *Descent into (the Cave) of Trophonius* says, “there was added the dessert, which causes great expense at the dinner party, wreaths, perfumes, incense, and all the things that go with them.”

- 81 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 13.67 594E–595A (BT v.3 p.311.4–18 Kaibel)

Dicaearchus in the books *On the Descent into (the Cave) of Trophonius* says, “but a man would experience the same thing on arriving at the city of the Athenians on the road from Eleusis called the Sacred Way. For standing there where the temple of Athena and the citadel (i.e., the Acropolis) first appear, he will see built beside the road itself a monument such as no other, nor is any like it in size. At first he would likely say that it is clearly of Miltiades or Pericles or Cimon, or some other noble man, and that certainly it had been set up publicly by the city, or, if not, that its erection had been allowed. But when he reflects on its being of a courtesan, Pythionike, what expectation (of the city) should he assume?”

- 82 Scholion in Pindari Olympiacas 6.7b (BT p.155.24–156.2 Drachmann)

δι' ἐμπύρων ἐν Ἡλίδι Ἰαμίδαι ἐμαντεύοντο. ἀφ' ὧν τὸ γένος εἶχεν Ἀγησίας. τοῦ δὲ μαντείου τοῦ ἐν Ἡλίδι καὶ Δικαίᾳρχος μέμνηται.

1 Ἰαμίδαι] Ἰαμίδι b

- 83 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 13.80 603A–B (BT t.3 p.330.4–10 Kaibel)

φιλόπαις δ' ἦν ἐκμανῶς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεὺς. Δικαίᾳρχος γοῦν ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰλίου θυσίας Βαγῶν τοῦ εὐνούχου οὕτως αὐτόν φησιν ἡττάσθαι ὥς ἐν ὄψει θεάτρου ὅλου καταφιλεῖν αὐτόν ἀνακλάσαντα, καὶ τῶν θεατῶν ἐπιφωνησάντων μετὰ κρότου οὐκ ἀπειθήσας πάλιν ἀνακλάσας ἐφίλησεν.

1–6 cf. *Plut., Alex.* 67.4

- 84 Scholion in Aristophanis *Vespas* 544b (p.86.10–17 Koster)

θαλλοφόρους γὰρ ἔφη, βουλόμενος τοὺς γέροντας δηλῶσαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις οἱ γέροντες θαλλοὺς ἔχοντες ἐπόμπευον. ὥς οὖν εἰς οὐδὲν ὄντων χρησίμων αὐτῶν ἔξω τοῦ θαλλοφορεῖν, οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἐπέσκωπεν. ὁ μέντοι Δικαίᾳρχος ἐν τῷ Παναθηναϊκῷ φησιν—οὐκ οἶδα ἐξ ὅτου—“ποτέ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκες ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ὑπειληφθαι θαλλοφορεῖν,” πολλῶν ἀλλήλοις ὁμολογούντων ὑπὲρ τοῦ μόνους τοὺς πρεσβύτας θαλλοφορεῖν.

5 ἐξ ὅτου post ποτέ ponendum esse censet Holwerda; sine ulla interpunctione ante οὐκ et post ὅτου Dindorf, Duebner, Wehrli

- 85 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 14.12 620D (BT t.3 p.367.27–368.1 Kaibel)

τοὺς δ' Ἐμπεδοκλέους Καθαρμοὺς ἐρραψώδησεν Ὀλυμπίασι

- 82 Scholium on Pindar's *Olympian Ode* 6.7b (BT p.155.24–156.2 Drachmann)

The Iamidai used to divine through fires in Elis. Agesias was their descendant. Dicaearchus also recalls the divination in Elis.

- 83 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 13.80 603A–B (BT v.3 p.330.4–10 Kaibel)

King Alexander was also madly in love with boys. Indeed, Dicaearchus, in the work *On the Sacrifice at Ilium*, says that he was so overcome by Bagoas the eunuch that in view of the entire theater he bent him over to kiss him passionately and then, when the spectators shouted approval, he obliged and again bent him over and kissed him.

- 84 Scholion on Aristophanes' *Wasps* 544b (p.86.10–17 Koster)

For he said “olive-shoot carriers” because he wished to show that they were old men, since in the Panathenaiac (processions) the old men used to process holding olive shoots. Indeed, inasmuch as they (contributed) nothing that was useful outside of carrying olive shoots, in this way he ridiculed them. However, Dicaearchus in the *Panathenaic (Dialogue)* says—I do not know from what source—“at some time the practice was taken up for old women also to carry olive shoots in the Panathenaiac (processions),” since many agree with each other about only old men carrying olive shoots.

- 85 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 14 620D (BT v.3 p.367.27–368.1 Kaibel)

The rhapsodist Cleomenes performed the *Purifications* of

Κλεομένης ὁ ῥαψωδός, ὥς φησιν Δικαίαρχος ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπικῷ.

1–2 cf. *Diog. Laert.* 8.63, ubi Favorinus non Dicaearchus nominatur
Empedocles, FVS 31A12

Politica

86 Cicero, *De legibus* 3.14 (CB p.88.10–18 de Plinval)

nam veteres verbo tenus acute illi quidem, sed non ad hunc usum popularem atque civilem de re publica disserebant. ab hac familia magis ista manarunt Platone principe, post Aristoteles illustravit omnem hunc civilem in disputando locum; Heraclidesque Ponticus profectus ab eodem Platone; Theophrastus vero, institutus ab Aristotele, habitavit ut scitis in eo genere rerum, ab eodemque Aristotele doctus Dicaearchus huic rationi studioque non defuit, post a Theophrasto Phalereus ille Demetrius, de quo feci supra mentionem, mirabiliter doctrinam ex umbraculis eruditorum otioque non modo in solem atque in pulverem, sed in ipsum discrimen aciemque produxit.

4 *Heracleides Ponticus*, fr. 143 Wehrli 5 *Theophrastus* 591 FHS&G 7
Demetrius, 57 SOD; cf. *Cic.*, *De leg.* 2.64–6

2 ab hac (hanc) familia] *Academia Haupt et de Plinval*

87 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 4.19 141A–C (BT t.1 p.319.25–320.17 Kaibel)

περὶ δὲ τοῦ τῶν φιλιτίων δείπνου Δικαίαρχος τάδε ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφόμενῳ Τριπολιτικῷ· “τὸ δείπνον πρῶτον μὲν ἐκάστω χωρὶς παρατιθέμενον καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον κοινωνίαν οὐδεμίαν ἔχον· εἴτα μᾶζαν μὲν ὅσῃν ἂν ἕκαστος ἦ βουλόμενος, καὶ πιεῖν πάλιν ὅταν ἦ θυμὸς ἐκάστω κώθων παρακείμενός ἐστιν. ὅψον δὲ ταύτων ἀεὶ ποτε πᾶσιν ἐστίν, ὑγιεινὸν κρέας ἐφθόν, ἐνίοτε δ’ (οὐδ’) ὀτιμενοῦν πλὴν ὅψον† τι μικρὸν ἔχον σταθμὸν ὡς τέταρτον μάλιστα καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο ἕτερον οὐδὲν πλὴν ὃ γε ἀπὸ τούτων ζωμὸς ἱκανὸς ὢν παρὰ πᾶν τὸ δείπνον ἅπαντας αὐτοὺς παρα-

Empedocles at Olympia, as Dicaearchus says in the *Olympic Dialogue*.

Politics

86 Cicero, *On Laws* 3.14 (CB p.88.10–18 de Plinval)

For the old (philosophers) discussed the state intelligently, in so far as theory goes, but not, as here, with a view to things useful for the people and citizens. Those things (i.e. theoretical discussions) have been derived more from this school (the Academy) led by Plato. Afterwards Aristotle clarified the whole topic of politics in dialogues, as did Heraclides of Pontus, who also got his start from the same Plato. Indeed Theophrastus, who was instructed by Aristotle, spent his time, as you know, in this kind of subject, and Dicaearchus, who was taught by the same Aristotle, did not neglect this area of thought and discipline. Afterwards a student of Theophrastus, that Demetrius of Phaleron concerning whom I made mention above, admirably brought the teaching forward from the shadows and leisure of scholars not only into the sun and arena, but also into conflict itself and the line of battle.

87 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 4.19 141A–C (BT v.1 p.319.25–320.17 Kaibel)

Concerning the dinner of the messes (in Sparta) Dicaearchus reports the following in the work entitled *Three-City (Dialogue)*: “First the dinner is served to each individually, there being no sharing with another. Then each (receives) a barley cake as large as he wishes, and drinks whenever he has desire, a cup being set beside each one. The same meat dish is always given to all, a piece of boiled pork, but sometimes <not> even that, but rather some small dish of meat having at most a quarter portion. And beyond that there is nothing else except the broth resulting from these things, which is sufficient to be sent around to all throughout the whole

- C πέμπειν, κἄν ἄρα ἐλάα τις ἢ τυρὸς ἢ σῦκον, ἀλλὰ κἄν τι λάβουσιν ἐπιδόσιμον, ἰχθὺν ἢ λαγὼν ἢ φάτταν ἢ τι τοιοῦτον. εἴτ' ὁξέως ἤδη δεδειπνηκόσιν ὕστερα περιφέρεται ταῦτα τὰ ἐπάικλα καλούμενα. συμφέρει δ' ἕκαστος εἰς τὸ φιδίτιον ἀλφίτων μὲν ὡς τρία μάλιστα ἡμιμέδιμνα Ἀττικά, οἴνου δὲ χοεῖς ἑνδεκάτινας ἢ δώδεκα, παρὰ δὲ ταῦτα τυροῦ σταθμόν τινα καὶ σῦκων, ἔτι δὲ εἰς ὀψωνίαν περὶ δέκα τινὰς Αἰγιναίους ὀβολούς."

6-8 cf. *Plut., Lyc.* 12 12-13 cf. *Athen., 4.16-19 139B-141E*

5 κώθων *Casaubonus*: καθ' ὧν A 6 οὐδ' ὀτιμενοῦν *Schweighäuser*: δε τι
μονον A 7 *crucis pos. Wehrli* 8 ἀπὸ τούτων A: ἀπὸ τούτου C

88 Photius, Bibliotheca 37 (CB t.1 p.22.20-30 Henry)

ἀνεγνώσθη Περὶ πολιτικῆς ὡς ἐν διαλόγῳ, Μηνᾶν πατρίκιον καὶ Θωμᾶν ρεφερενδάριον τὰ διαλεγόμενα εἰσάγον πρόσωπα περιέχει δὲ ἡ πραγματεία λόγους ἕξ, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἕτερον εἶδος πολιτείας παρὰ τὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς εἰρημένα εἰσάγει, ὃ καὶ καλεῖ Δικαιαρχικόν. ἐπιμέμφεται δὲ τῆς Πλάτωνος δικαίως πολιτείας ἣν δ' αὐτοὶ πολιτείαν εἰσάγουσιν ἐκ τῶν τριῶν εἰδῶν τῆς πολιτείας δέον αὐτὴν συγκεῖσθαι φασί, βασιλικοῦ καὶ ἀριστοκρατικοῦ καὶ δημοκρατικοῦ, τὸ εἰλικρινὲς αὐτῇ ἐκάστης πολιτείας συνεισαγωγῆς, κάκεινην τὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀρίστην πολιτείαν ἀποτελειούσης.

7-8 cf. *Polybius, 6.3 et 10*

2 εἰσάγον AM: εἰσάγων M 7 δέον A: om. M 10 ἀποτελειούσης AM: ἀποτελούσης A

Certamina, Ars critica

89 Suda, s.v. σκολιόν (no. 643, LG t.1 pars 4 p.382.28-383.3 Adler)

ἡ παροίνιος ᾠδή, ὡς μὲν Δικαίαρχος ἐν τῷ Περὶ μουσικῶν ἀγώνων, ὅτι τρία γένη ἦν ᾠδῶν, τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀδόμενον, (τὸ δὲ) καθ' ἓνα ἐξῆς, τὸ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν συνετωτάτων ὡς ἔτυχε τῇ

dinner, and there may be some olive or cheese or fig, and if they get something added, it is a fish or a hare or a ring-dove or something of that sort. After they have quickly dined there are passed around the so-called *epaikla*. Each contributes to the mess about three Attic half medimni of barley, eleven or twelve pitchers of wine, and beyond this a measure of cheese and figs, and for the meat dish about twelve Aigenetan obols."

88 Photius, Library 37 (CB v.1 p.22.20-30 Henry)

There was read (a work) *On Political Theory* in dialogue form, introducing Menas the patrician and Thomas a referendarius as the characters in the discussion. The work contains six dialogues, in which (the author) introduces a different form of constitution from those discussed by the ancients, which he even called Dicaearchic.¹ He justly found fault with the *Republic* of Plato. They (the interlocutors) say that the constitution that they introduce must be combined from the three forms of constitution, the monarchical, aristocratic and democratic, each constitution contributing to it its pureness and perfecting what is truly the best constitution.

¹ This may have nothing to do with Dicaearchus; it may refer only to 'just rule' (*dikaia arche*); cf. Suda, s.v. *Dikaiarcheia*. Dicaearchus' name appears in a list of names of orators, historians and generals in Photius, *Library* 167.

Contests, Literary Criticism

89 Suda, on *scolion* (no. 643, LG v.1 part 4 p.382.28-383.3 Adler)

As Dicaearchus (says) in the work *On Musical Contests*, (*scolion*) was a drinking song. There were three kinds of songs, one was sung by all, another was sung by each individually one after another, and the last by the most quick-witted in order as it happened.

τάξει. ὃ δὴ καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν τάξιν σκολιόν.

1–4 Pausanias *Atticista*, s.v., (no. 16, p. 209.18–20 Erbse) et scholion in *Platonis Gorgiam* 451e (p. 134.1–4 Greene) 2–4 cf. Athen., *Deipn.* 15.49 694A–B, et Plut., *Quaest. conv.* 1 615A–C, ubi tamen non Dicaearchus sed Artemon nominatur

3 τὸ δὲ supplevit Wehrli post Hermann

90 Scholion in Aristophanis *Nubes* 1364c (p. 239.8–12 Koster)

Δικαίαρχος ἐν τῷ Περὶ μουσικῶν (ἀγόνων)· “ἔτι δὲ κοινόν τι πάθος φαίνεται συνακολουθεῖν τοῖς διερχομένοις εἴτε μετὰ μέλους εἴτε ἄνευ μέλους, ἔχοντάς τι ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀφήγησιν. οἱ γὰρ ἄδοντες ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις ἐκ παλαιᾶς τινος παραδόσεως κλῶνα δάφνης ἢ μυρρίνης λαβόντες ἄδουσιν.”

1 ἀγόνων supplevit Dindorf ἔτι Hermann: ἐπεὶ codd.

91 Zenobius, *Epitome collectionum Lucilli Tarrhaei et Didymi* 3.99 (CPG t.1 p. 83.3–6 Leutsch et Schneidewin)

ἐκκέκοφθ' ἡ μουσικὴ· φησὶν ὅτι τῶν παλαιῶν ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις φιλολόγων ζητήσῃ χρωμένων οἱ ὕστερον τὰς μουσουργοὺς καὶ κιθαρίστριας καὶ ὀρχήστριας ἐπεισήγαγον, ὅθεν τὴν καινοτομίαν τινὲς αἰτιώμενοι τῇ παροιμίᾳ ἐχρῶντο.

1–4 Plutarchus 1.38, Apostolius 6.94

1 ἐκκέκοφθ' ἐκκεκοφ' L φησὶν ὅτι *codex Atheniensis* 1083 (S.B. München 4 [1910] 22 Kugéas): omit. L, Plut.: φασὶν P, Apostolius 2 φιλολόγων cod. Athen. 1083: φιλόλογον P 4 ὅθεν... ἐχρῶντο cod. Athen. 1083: omit. P

92 Plutarchus, *Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum* 12 1095A (BT t.6.2 p. 144.11–15 Pohlenz et Westman)

οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐπῆλθεν αὐτοῖς εἰς νοῦν βαλέσθαι τὰς τυφλὰς καὶ νωδὰς ἐκεῖνας ψηλαφήσεις καὶ ἐπιπηδήσεις τοῦ ἀκολάστου, μεμαθηκόσιν, εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο, γράφειν περὶ Ὁμήρου καὶ περὶ Εὐριπίδου, ὥς Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Δικαίαρχος.

4 Heraclides Ponticus, fr. 168 Wehrli

This was called *scolion* on account of the order.¹

¹ *Skolion* literally means “crooked.” That is, there was no particular order.

90 Scholion on Aristophanes' *Clouds* 1364c (p. 239.8–12 Koster)

Dicaearchus in the work *On Musical <Contests>*: “It still appears to be a common affectation associated with those performing either with a song or without a song, to hold something in their hand when doing their recitation. For from some old tradition those singing in the symposia take a twig of laurel or myrtle when they sing.”

91 Zenobius, *Summary of the Collections of Lucillus Tarrhaeus and Didymus* 3.99 (CPG v.1 p. 83.3–6 Leutsch and Schneidewin)

“Music¹ has been cut out:” (Dicaearchus)² says that while the ancient lovers of literature practiced inquiry at their symposia, those who came later introduced girls who sang, played the lyre, and danced. As a result, those who criticized the change used the saying.

¹ i.e. culture.

² This text appears in the *codex Atheniensis* 1083 immediately following 73, 68 and 74, each of which names Dicaearchus. Kugéas proposed that Dicaearchus be seen as the source for this text also. Cf. Kassel, *Hermes* 91 (1963).

92 Plutarch, *That Epicurus Actually Makes a Pleasant Life Impossible* 12 1095A (BT v.6.2 p. 144.11–15 Pohlenz and Westman)

It would not have occurred to them to put into their minds those blind and toothless fingerings of and leapings upon wantonness if they had learned, if nothing else, to write about Homer and Euripides, as did Aristotle and Heraclides and Dicaearchus.

- 93 Anonymus Grammaticus Romanus, *De notis veterum criticis* 3 (Lexicon Vindobonense p.273.16–17 Nauck)

τὴν δὲ ποίησιν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι ἀξιοῖ Ζώπυρος ὁ Μάγνης Αἰολίδι διαλέκτῳ, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Δικαίαρχος. αἱ μὲντοι ῥαψωδίαι κατὰ συνάφειαν ἤβωντο, κορωνίδι μόνῃ διαστελλόμεναι, ἄλλω δ' οὐδενί.

1 Zopyrus, FGrH 494F 3

3 ῥαψωδίαι Osannus: ῥαψωδείαι *cod.* ἤβωντο] ἤνωντο Osannus

- 94 Apollonius Dyscolus, *De pronomine* 60B (t.1.1 p.48.1–11 Uhlig et Schneider)

ὅθεν τινές, πάλιν ἀγνοήσαντες τὸ μεταβατικόν, τὸ αἴτει δ' οἰωνόν, ἐὼν ἄγγελον μεταγράφουσιν εἰς τὸ ταχὺν ἄγγελον, ἢ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἐκδέχονται. καὶ ἐπὶ θηλυκῆς τὸν ξεῖνον πέμπωμεν ἐὼν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀρίσταρχον ἀσμένως τὴν γραφὴν τοῦ Δικαίάρχου παραδέξασθαι, ἐν γὰρ ἀπάσαις ἦν τὸ ἐῖν ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ, ὑπολαβόντα τὸ ἑαυτῆς νοεῖσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐῖν, δεόν πάλιν ψιλῶς μεταλαμβάνειν.

2 *Homerus, Ilias* 24.292; cf. 24.296 5 *Homerus, Odysseas* 13.52 9 *Homerus, Ilias* 3.243–4 ὥς φάτο, τοὺς δ' ἤδη κάτεχεν φυσίζοος αἶα / ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ αἶθι, φίλῃ ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ. Cf. *Apollon. Dysc., De Syntaxi* 2.115

4 θηλυκῆς *Skrzeczka*: αἰτιατικῆς *Ab* 7 παραδέξασθαι: ἀναδέξασθαι *Ab* 8 ἐῖν ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ *b* in var. *lect.*: ἐὼν ἐς πατρίδα γαίην *Ab* 9 ἑαυτῆς *Naeke*: ἑαυτοῦ *Ab*

- 95 Scholion in *Homeri Odysseam* 1.332 (p.58.25–59.12 Dindorf)

αἰτιᾶται ἐκ τῶν ἐπῶν τούτων Δικαίαρχος τὴν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ Πηνελόπην
ἢ δ' ὅτε δὴ μνηστῆρας ἀφίκετο διὰ γυναικῶν,
στῇ ῥα παρὰ σταθμὸν τέγεος πύκα ποιητοῖο
ἄντα παρειάων

- 93 Anonymus Roman Grammmarian, *Critical Notes on the Ancients* 3 (*Vienna Lexicon* p.273.16–17 Nauck)

Zopyrus of Magnesia thinks the poetry (of Homer) ought to be sung in the Aeolic dialect and Dicaearchus (thinks) the same thing. However, rhapsodic poetry had its vigour through repetition of the same metrical foot and was distinguished by the ending alone, by nothing else.

- 94 Apollonius Dyscolus, *On the Pronoun* 60 B (v.1.1 p.48.1–11 Uhlig and Schneider)

For this reason, again, some who are ignorant of the change (of the possessive adjective) rewrite ask for a bird of omen, *his* messenger as 'swift messenger', or they understand 'the good' (messenger). And with regard to the feminine let us send the stranger to *his* native land, they say that even Aristarchus gladly accepted the reading of Dicaearchus—for in all (copies) there was the (reading) in *her* native land—since he supposed that 'her' meant 'her own', it requiring again (only) a simple substitution.

- 95 Scholion on *Homer, Odyssey* 1.332 (p.58.25–59.12 Dindorf)

From these words Dicaearchus found fault with the Penelope in Homer:

When she reached the suitors, divine of women,
She stood beside a pillar of the strongly made building,
Before her cheeks.

καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. οὐδαμῶς γὰρ εὐτακτον εἶναί φησι τὴν Πηνελόπην, πρῶτα μὲν ὅτι πρὸς μεθύοντας αὕτη παραγίνεται νεανίσκους, ἔπειτα τῷ κρηδέμνῳ τὰ κάλλιστα μέρη τοῦ προσώπου καλύπτει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μόνους ἀπολέλοιπε θεωρεῖσθαι. περίεργος γὰρ ἢ τοιαύτη σχηματοποιία καὶ προσποίητος, ἢ τε παράστασις τῶν θεραπαινίδων ἐκάτερθεν εἰς τὸ κατ' ἐξοχὴν φαίνεσθαι καλὴν οὐκ ἀνεπιτήδευτον δείκνυσι. φάμεν οὖν ὅτι τὸ καθόλου ἔθος ἀγνοεῖν ἔοικεν ὁ Δικαίαρχος. σύνηθες γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τὰς ἐλευθέρους γυναῖκας εἰς τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἰσιέναι συμπόσια.

- 96 Plutarchus, *Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum* 13 1096A (BT t.6.2 p.146.10–19 Pohlenz et Westman)

οὐκ ἦν δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἡδέως ζῆν ἐπιεικέστερον μύρα καὶ θυμιάματα δυσχεραίνειν ὡς κάρθοι καὶ γῦπες, ἢ κριτικῶν καὶ μουσικῶν λαλιὰν βδελύττεσθαι καὶ φεύγειν; ποῖος γὰρ ἂν αὐλὸς ἢ κιθάρα διηρμοσμένη πρὸς ψῆδην ἢ τίς χορὸς “Εὐρύοπα κέλαδον ἀκροσόφων ἀγνύμενον διὰ στομάτων” φθεγγόμενος οὕτως εὐφρανεν Ἐπίκουρον καὶ Μητρόδωρον, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Θεόφραστον καὶ Δικαίαρχον καὶ Ἰερώνυμον οἱ περὶ χορῶν λόγοι καὶ διδασκαλιῶν καὶ τὰ [δι'] αὐλῶν προβλήματα καὶ ῥυθμῶν καὶ ἁρμονιῶν;

1–2 cf. Theophrastus, CP 6.5.1 5 PMG fr. 1008 (adesp. 90) 6 Epicurus, fr. 512 Usener = 136 Arrighetti² Aristoteles, fr. 99 Rose³ 7 Theophrastus, 715 FHS&G Hieronymus, fr. 26 Wehrli

6–7 ὡς—Δικαίαρχον om. Γ 8 διδασκαλιῶν] διδασκαλίαι Π [δι'] αὐλῶν Pohlenz : διαυλιῶν Reiske : διαυλίων Apelt : περὶ αὐλῶν Wytttenbach

- 97 Zenobius, *Epitome collectionum Lucilli Tarrhaei et Didymi* 2.15 (CPG t.1 p.35.7–9 Leutsch et Schneidewin)

ᾄδειε τὰ Τέλληνος· οὗτος ὁ Τέλλην ἐγένετο αὐλητὴς καὶ μελῶν ἀνυποτάκτων ποιητής. μέμνηται αὐτοῦ Δικαίαρχος ὁ Μεσσήνιος.

2 Δικαίαρχος Schottus : Δίαρχος codd.

and so on. He says that Penelope is by no means well-behaved, first, because she comes into the presence of drunk young men, then, because she covers the most beautiful parts of her face with the veil, she leaves her eyes alone to be seen. For such posturing is superfluous and pretentious, and the accompanying of the women servants on each side for the purpose of appearing outstandingly beautiful shows it was not unintended. However, we say that Dicaearchus seems to be ignorant of the general custom. For it was common among the ancients that the free women entered the men's symposia.

- 96 Plutarch, *That Epicurus Actually Makes a Pleasant Life Impossible* 13 1096A (BT v.6.2 p.146.10–19 Pohlenz and Westman)

With a view to living pleasantly, wouldn't it be more reasonable to feel disgust at sweet oil and burnt offerings, as do dung-beetles and vultures, rather than to loathe and avoid the talk of literary and musical critics? For what sort of *aulos* or cithara tuned for song or what chorus giving forth “far-sounding voice passed through expert mouths” could so have cheered Epicurus and Metrodorus as the discussions of choruses and the productions, and the problems concerning *auloi* (pipes) and rhythms and harmonies (cheered) Aristotle and Theophrastus and Dicaearchus and Hieronymus?

- 97 Zenobius, *Summary of the Collections of Lucillus Tarrhaeus and Didymus* 2.15 (CPG v.1 p.35.7–9 Leutsch and Schneidewin)

Sing the (story) of Tellen: This Tellen was a piper and composer of unruly songs. Dicaearchus of Messana mentions him.

- 98 Zenobius, *Epitome proverbiorum Didymi Tarrhaei* 2.100 (*Mélanges de littérature grecque* [1868] p.368.16–18 Miller)

τὸν αὐλητὴν αὐλεῖν· ταύτης μέμνηται Φιλήμων ὁ κωμικός. Δικαίαρχος δέ φησιν ὅτι αὐλητῆς τις ἐγένετο μὴ πάνυ τοῖς αὐλητικοῖς ἐμμένων νόμοις, ἀλλὰ παρακινῶν· ὅθεν εἰς παροιμίαν ἦλθεν ὁ λόγος.

1 *Philemon*, PCG 7 F 183 KA

3 νόμοις CPG App. 4.94: λόγοις cod.

- 99 Scholion in Aristophanis *Aves* 1403 (p.241a.41–7 Duebner)

Ἀντίπατρος δὲ καὶ Εὐφρόνιος ἐν τοῖς Ὑπομνήσασί φασιν τοὺς κυκλίους χοροὺς στήσαι πρῶτον Λᾶσον τὸν Ἑρμιονέα, οἱ δὲ ἀρχαιότεροι Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Δικαίαρχος Ἀρίονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον, Δικαίαρχος μὲν ἐν τῷ περὶ Διονυσιακῶν ἀγώνων, Ἑλλάνικος δὲ ἐν τοῖς Καρνεονίκαις.

2 *Lasus*, vid. fr. 703 Page 2, 4 *Hellanicus*, FGrH 4 F 86 4–5 cf. *Arist.*, fr. 677 Rose³

5 Καρνεονίκαις *Dahlmann*: Καρναϊκοῖς vel Κραναικοῖς codd. et *Duebner*

- 100 *Vita Aeschyli* 15 (TrGF t.3 p. 36.56–9 Radt)

ἐχρήσατο δὲ ὑποκρίτη πρῶτῳ μὲν Κλεάνδρῳ, ἔπειτα καὶ τὸν δεύτερον αὐτῷ προσῆψε Μυννίσκον τὸν Καλχιδέα, τὸν δὲ τρίτον ὑποκριτὴν αὐτὸς ἐξεῦρεν, ὥς δὲ Δικαίαρχος ὁ Μεσσήνιος. Σοφοκλῆς.

2–3 cf. *Them.*, Or. 26 316d 3–4 cf. *Diog. Laert.* 3.56; cf. *Arist.*, *Poet.* 4 1449a15–19 4 *Sophocles*, TrGF T98 Radt

- 101 Hypothesis secunda *Sophoclis Oedipodis tyranni* (OCT p.109.20–3 Pearson)

ὁ Τύραννος Οἰδίπους ἐπὶ διακρίσει θατέρου ἐπιγράφεται. χαριέντως δὲ Τύραννον ἅπαντες αὐτὸν ἐπιγράφουσιν ὥς ἐξέχοντα πάσης τῆς Σοφοκλέους ποιήσεως, καίπερ ἡττηθέντα

- 98 Pseudo-Zenobius, *Summary of the Proverbs of Didymus Tarrhaeus* 2.100 (*Mélanges de littérature grecque* [1868] 368.16–18 Miller)

“The piper pipes:” Philemon the comic poet mentions this saying. Dicaearchus says that there was a certain piper who did not abide at all by the rules of piping, but violated them. This story became a saying.

- 99 Scholion on Aristophanes *Birds* 1403 (p.241a.41–7 Duebner)

Antipater and Euphronius in the *Memoranda* say that Lasus of Hermione first created circular choruses, but the older authors, Hellanicus and Dicaearchus say it was Arion of Mythymna, Dicaearchus (writing) in the work *On the Dionysiac Contests* and Hellanicus in the *Carnean Victors*.

- 100 *Life of Aeschylus* 15 (TrGF v.3 p.36.56–9 Radt)

(Aeschylus) used Cleandros as first actor, and then added Mynniscus of Kalchis to him as the second, and he himself invented the third actor, but Dicaearchus the Messanian says it was Sophocles.

- 101 Second Hypothesis of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* (OCT p.109.20–3 Pearson)

The *Oedipus Tyrannus* has been given this title (*Tyrannus*) in order to distinguish it from the other. All graciously give it the additional title *Tyrannus* as standing out above all Sophocles' work,

ὑπὸ Φιλοκλέους, ὥς φησι Δικαίαρχος. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ πρότερον,
οὐ τύραννον, αὐτὸν ἐπιγράφοντες, διὰ τοὺς χρόνους τῶν
διδασκαλιῶν καὶ διὰ τὰ πράγματα.

2 ἐπιγράφουσιν L: ἐπέγραφον vulgo 4 ὥς φησιν Δικαίαρχος dubitat Luppe
(Hermes 119 [1991] 467–9)

102 Plutarchus, De E apud Delphos 1 384D (BT t.3 p.1.4–8 Sieveking)

στιχιδίοις τισὶν οὐ φαύλως ἔχουσιν, ὦ φίλε Σαρακίων,
ἐνέτυχον πρόην, ἃ Δικαίαρχος Εὐριπίδην οἶεται πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον
εἰπεῖν

οὐ βούλομαι πλουτοῦντι δωρεῖσθαι πένης,
μή μ' ἄφρονα κρίνης ἢ διδοὺς αἰτεῖν δοκῶ.

2 Euripides, fr. 969 Nauck² 4–5 cf. Menander, fr. 109b Kock

103 Scholion in Platonis Apologiam 19C (p.421.16–20 Greene)

τρεις δ' ἔσχεν υἱούς, Φίλιππον τὸν τοῖς Εὐβούλου δράμασιν
ἀγωνισάμενον, καὶ Ἀραρότα ἰδίους τε καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς δράμασι
διηγωνισμένον, καὶ τρίτον, ὃν Ἀπολλόδωρος μὲν Νικόστρατον
καλεῖ, οἱ δὲ περὶ Δικαίαρχον Φιλέταιρον.

1–3 PCG 3(2) T3.14–16 KA 3–4 cf. PCG 3(2) T1.55–7, T2.8–9, T7, T8 KA
3 Apollodorus, FGrH 244 F 75

104 Hypothesis in Aristophanis Ranas 1(c) (p.114.26–9 Dover)

ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Καλλίου ἄρχοντος τοῦ μετὰ Ἀντιγένη διὰ
Φιλωνίδου εἰς Λήναια. πρῶτος ἦν, Φρύνιχος β' Μούσαις.
Πλάτων τρίτος Κλεοφῶντι. οὕτω δὲ ἐθαυμάσθη τὸ δράμα διὰ
τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ παράβασιν, (καθ' ἣν διαλλάττει τοὺς ἐντίμους τοῖς
ἀτίμοις καὶ τοὺς πολίτας τοῖς φυγάσιν), ὥστε καὶ ἀνεδιδάχθη.

although it was beaten by Philocles, as Dicaearchus says. Some
have also entitled it the *Earlier*, not *Tyrannus*, because of the chro-
nology of the productions and because of the (dramatic) events.

102 Plutarch, *The E at Delphi* 1 384D (BT v.3 p.1.4–8 Sieveking)

My dear Serapion, I recently came upon some lines that were
not too bad. Dicaearchus thinks Euripides addressed them to
Archelaus:¹

Poor as I am I do not wish to bestow a gift on a rich man
lest you judge me a fool or I appear in giving to demand (a
return).

¹ Archelaus was king of Macedon c. 413–399 and served as Euripides' pa-
tron after the playwright left Athens c. 408. It seems unlikely that the lines were
taken from the play entitled *Archelaus*.

103 Scholion on Plato, *Apology* 19C (p.421.16–20 Greene)

(Aristophanes) had three sons, Philippus who competed with
the plays of Eubulus, Araros who performed in his own and his
father's plays, and a third, whom Apollodorus called Nicostratus,
but those associated with Dicaearchus call Philetaerus.

104 Hypothesis to Aristophanes' *Frogs* 1(c) (p.114.26–9 Dover)

(The play) was produced when Callias was archon following
Antigenes¹ by Philonides for the Lenaia. (Aristophanes) was first,
Phrynicus second with *Muses*, and Platon third with *Cleophon*. The
play was so admired because of its parabasis—through which
(Aristophanes) reconciled the enfranchised to the disenfranchised
and the citizens to the exiles—that it was produced again, as

ὥς φησι Δικαίάρχος.

1, 3–6 *Hypothesis Thomae Magistri* (OCT t.2 p.102.16–19 Hall et Geldart) 3–
4 cf. *Vit. Ar.* (PCG 3(2) T1.35–9 KA)

4 παράβασιν] κατάβασιν Weil 4–5 καθ' ... φυγάσιν suppl. Wehrli e *Thoma*
Magistro

- 105 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 11.4 460F–461A (BT t.3 p.3.25–4.1 Kaibel)

ἄξιον δ' ἐστὶ ζητῆσαι εἰ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι μεγάλοις ἔπινον ποτηρίοις.
461 Δικαίάρχος μὲν γὰρ ὁ Μεσσήνιος, ὁ Ἀριστοτέλους μαθητὴς, ἐν
τῷ Περὶ Ἀλκαίου μικροῖς φησιν αὐτοὺς ἐκπώμασι κεχρησθαι
καὶ ὕδαρέστερον πεπωκέναι.

- 106 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 15.2 666B–C (BT t.3 p.472.6–17 Kaibel)

πρῶτον μὲν ἢ τῶν κοττάβων εὔρεσις Σικελικὴ ἐστὶν παιδιὰ,
ταύτην πρῶτων εὐρόντων Σικελῶν, ὥς Κριτίας φησὶν ὁ
Καλλιάρχου ἐν τοῖς Ἑλεγείοις διὰ τούτων

κότταβος ἐκ Σικελῆς ἐστὶ χθονὸς ἐκπρεπὲς ἔργον,
ὃν σκοπὸν ἐς λατάγων τόξα καθιστάμεθα.

Δικαίάρχος (δὲ) ὁ Μεσσήνιος, Ἀριστοτέλους μαθητὴς, ἐν τῷ
Περὶ Ἀλκαίου καὶ τὴν λατάγην φησὶν εἶναι Σικελικὸν ὄνομα.

C λατάγη δ' ἐστὶν τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκποθέντος ποτηρίου
ὑγρόν, ὃ συνεστραμμένη τῇ χειρὶ ἄνωθεν ἐρρίπτουν οἱ παίζον-
τες εἰς τὸ κοττάβιον.

2–9 *scholion in Aristophanis Pacem* 1244 (p.176.9–16 Holwerda) 2 *Critias*,
FVS 88B2 6 *Alcaeus*, fr. 462 Voigt

5 ἐς *Athen.* 28B: ἐκ *cod.* 6 δὲ supplevit Wehrli 7 λατάγην] λάταγα *schol.*
Aristoph. 8 ἀπὸ] ἐκ *schol. Aristoph.*

- 107 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 15.5 667B–C (BT t.3 p.474.23–475.4 Kaibel)

ἀγκυλοῦντα γὰρ δεῖ σφόδρα τὴν χεῖρα εὐρύθμως πέμπειν τὸν
κότταβον, ὥς Δικαίάρχος φησιν καὶ Πλάτων δ' ἐν τῷ Διὶ [τῷ]

Dicaearchus says.

¹ i.e., 406/5 B.C.

- 105 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 11.4 460F–461A (BT v.3 p.3.25–4.1 Kaibel)

It is worth enquiring whether the ancients drank with large cups.
461 For Dicaearchus of Messana, a student of Aristotle, says in *On*
Alcaeus that they used small cups and drank rather watery wine.

- 106 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 15.2 666B–C (BT v.3 p.472.6–17 Kaibel)

First of all, the discovery of the game of the *cottabos* is Sicilian,
since the Sicilians were the first to discover it, as Critias, son of
Callaeschrus, says in his elegies in the following words:

cottabos is the outstanding work of the land of Sicily, which we
set up as a target for arrows made of drops (*latagai*) of wine.

Dicaearchus of Messana, a student of Aristotle, says in his *On*
C *Alcaeus* that *latagê* as well is a Sicilian word. The *latagê* is the
remaining moisture in an emptied cup, which the players flung up
into the *cottabion* with a flick of the hand.¹

¹ Cf. scholium on Aristophanes' *Peace* 1244.

- 107 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 15.5 667B–C (BT v.3 p.474.23–475.4 Kaibel)

It is necessary to bend the arm very rhythmically when shooting
the *cottabos*, as Dicaearchus says, and Platon in *Zeus Outraged*.

κακουμένῳ. παρακελεύεται δέ τις τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ μὴ σκληρὰν ἔχειν
 C τὴν χεῖρα μέλλοντα κοτταβίζειν. ἐκάλουν δ' ἀπ' ἀγκύλης τὴν
 τοῦ κοττάβου πρόεσιν διὰ τὸ ἐπαγκυλοῦν τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἐν
 τοῖς ἀποκοτταβισμοῖς.

2 Plato, PCG 7 F47 KA

2 τῷ *exponit* Kaibel 5 ἐπαγκυλοῦν *schol. Aristoph.* : ἀπαγκυλοῦν *καὶ*
Athenaei

108 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 15.7 668D–E (BT t.3 p.478.12–15
 Kaibel)

ὅτι δὲ ἐσπούδαστο παρὰ τοῖς Σικελιώταις ὁ κότταβος, δῆλον
 E ἐκ τοῦ καὶ οἰκήματα ἐπιτήδεια τῇ παιδιᾷ κατασκευάζεσθαι, ὡς
 ἱστορεῖ Δικαίαρχος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἀλκαίου.

3 Alcaeus, fr. 462 Voigt

109 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 11.58 479D–E (BT t.3 p.55.10–56.1
 Kaibel)

Ἡγήσανδρος δ' ὁ Δελφὸς ἐν Ὑπομνήμασιν, ὧν ἀρχὴ “ἐν τῇ
 ἀρίστη· πολιτείᾳ,” φησὶν· “ὁ καλούμενος κότταβος παρῆλθεν
 εἰς τὰ συμπόσια τῶν περὶ Σικελίαν, ὡς φησιν Δικαίαρχος, πρῶτον
 εἰσαγαγόντων. τοσαύτη δὲ ἐγένετο σπουδὴ περὶ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα,
 ὥστε εἰς τὰ συμπόσια παραιοφέρειν ἄλλα κοτταβεῖα καλούμενα.
 εἴτα κύλικες αἱ πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα χρήσιμαί μάλιστα εἶναι δοκοῦσαι
 κατασκευάζοντο, καλούμεναι κοτταβίδες. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οἱ
 E κατασκευάζοντο κυκλοτερεῖς, ἵνα πάντες εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ
 κοττάβου τεθέντος ἐξ ἀποστήματος ἴσου καὶ τόπων ὁμοίων
 ἀγωνίζονται περὶ τῆς νίκης. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο βάλλειν
 ἐπὶ τὸν σκοπόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καλῶς ἔκαστα αὐτῶν†. ἔδει γὰρ εἰς
 τὸν ἀριστερὸν ἀγκῶνα ἐρείσαντα καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἀγκυλώσαντα
 εὐρύθμως ἀφεῖναι τὴν λάταγα. οὕτω γὰρ ἐκάλουν τὸ πίπτον ἐκ
 τῆς κύλικος ὑγρόν. ὥστε ἔνιοι μείζον ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ καλῶς

Someone advises Heracles not to hold his arm stiffly when about
 C to shoot. They called the throwing of the *cottabos* ‘from the bent
 arm’ from the ‘bending’ of the right arm in the *cottabos* games.

108 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 15.7 668D–E (BT v.3 p.478.12–
 15 Kaibel)

That the *cottabos* was taken seriously among the Sicilians is
 E clear from the practice of even fitting out special rooms for the
 game, as Dicaearchus reports in his *On Alcaeus*.

109 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 11.58 479D–E (BT v.3 p.55.10–
 56.1 Kaibel)

Hegesander of Delphi in his *Memoranda*, which begins, “in the
 best form of government,” says, “the (game) called *cottabos* was
 introduced into their symposia, the Sicilians being the first to bring
 it in, according to Dicaearchus. So great an interest was aroused in
 the game that they even introduced prizes, called *cottabeia*, into
 the drinking parties. Thereupon cups (*kylixes*) that were especially
 adapted to the purpose were manufactured, and they were called
cottabides. In addition to this, circular rooms were constructed in
 E order that when the *cottabos* was set up in the center, all might
 compete for victory at an equal distance and from similar posi-
 tions. For they were proud not merely to hit the mark, but also to
 carry through each motion with good form. The player, leaning on
 his left elbow, was obliged to bend his right arm and rhythmically
 toss the *latax*; for that is what they called the liquid that fell from
 the cup. Some people took more pride in playing *cottabos* well

κοτταβίζειν τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀκοντίζειν μέγα φρονούντων.

1 *Hegesander, FHG 4.419*

9 τόπων ὁμοίων] καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων *suspiciatur Kaibel* 11 ἕκαστα αὐτῶν|
ἕκαστα ποιεῖν *Wilamowitz: cruces pos. Wehrli* 12 τὴν δεξιὰν ἀγκυλώσαντα
Kaibel: τῇ δεξιᾷ κυκλώσαντα codd. 13 εὐρύθμως *Kaibel: ὑγρῶς codd.*
πίπτειν A: πίπτειν E: ῥιπτόμενον *proposuit Kaibel*

110 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 3.31 85F (BT t.1 p.198.14–24 *Kaibel*)

Καλλίας δ' ὁ Μυτιληναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς παρ' Ἀλκαίῳ
λεπάδος παρὰ τῷ Ἀλκαίῳ φησὶν εἶναι ὥδην ἧς ἡ ἀρχή

Πέτρας καὶ πολιᾶς θαλάσσης τέκνον,
ἧς ἐπὶ τέλει γεγράφθαι

ἐκ δὲ παίδων χαύνοις φρένας, ἃ θαλασσία λεπὰς.
ὁ δ' Ἀριστοφάνης γράφει ἀντὶ τοῦ λεπὰς χέλως καὶ φησὶν οὐκ
εὖ Δικαίαρχον ἐκδεξάμενον λέγειν τὰς λεπάδας. τὰ παιδάρια
δὲ ἡνίκ' ἂν εἰς τὸ στόμα λάβωσιν, αὐλεῖν ἐν ταύταις καὶ παίζειν.

1 *Callias, cf. Strabonem, 13.618* *Alcaeus, fr. 359 Lobel et Page* 6 *Aristophanes*
Byzantius, fr. 367 Slater

5 ἐκ δὲ παίδων *Ahrens: ἐκ λεπάδων codd.* 6 λεπὰς: χέλως *cum germano*
Alcaeo Wilamowitz; Diehl 7 ἐκδεξάμενον *Valckenar.: ἐκλεξάμενον codd.*

111 Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 2506, fr. 6a, 77, 79, 137b (CPF pars 1 t.1.2
p.30–1 Montanari)

fr. 6a δῆκα...[
 προσα[
 υποδικα[
 τανταμα[
 ριστοτε[
 παρισταρ[
 τονυρ[.].[
 π.[
 μη[
 κεφ[

3 ὑπὸ Δικα[ίάρχου *proposuit Page*

than do people who pride themselves on hurling the javelin.”

110 Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 3.31 85F (BT v.1 p.198.14–24
Kaibel)

Callias of Mytilene, in the work *On the (Word) Limpet in Alcaeus*,
says that there is an ode in the collection of Alcaeus' works that
begins

Child of the rocks and of the hoary sea,
and at the end is written:

Limpet of the sea, swell the hearts of children,
Aristophanes writes 'tortoise' instead of 'limpet' and says that
Dicaearchus had not understood well in saying 'limpets'. But when
children put them to their mouths, they blow on them like a pipe
and play tunes with them.

111 Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 2506, fr. 6a, 77, 79, 137b (CPF part 1 v.1.2
p.30–1 Montanari)

fr. 6a

by Dicaearchus (?)

Aristotle

fr. 77

— — — —
].τ[.]λλ[
 Φι]ττακο[
]νασυμφ[
]ην Ἀλκαίο[
].ρ ὑποδικ[
]τον αλ.[
]ουτεφ[
]μου φον.[
]σ μελεδ[
]. αμα[.....].

5 ὑπὸ Δικ[αίάρχου Page

fr. 79

— — — —
]νπρ.[
]αλλια[
]νεσ[
]κτιδ[
].αυτ[
]καία[
].αρχ.[
]ονπ[
]οκι[
]τ.

6 Δικαίαρχ- Page

fr. 137b

— — — —
]ον[
]ννεω[
]εταεισ[
]τοισαλ[
]νεικοσ[
]οδικαι[
]ηοσ[
]νοσπροσ[
]γυν^{αι}[
]οσεν[
].. γαρ[

6 ὁ Δικαί[αρχος Page

fr. 77

Pittacus

Alcaeus
 by Dicaearchus (?)

fr. 79

Dicaearchus (?)

fr. 137b

Dicaearchus (?)

Argumenta

- 112 Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos* 3.3 (BT t.3 p.107.11–17 Mau)

πολλαχῶς μὲν καὶ ἄλλως ὑπόθεσις προσαγορεύεται, τὰ νῦν δὲ ἀπαρκέσει τριχῶς λέγεσθαι. καθ' ἓνα μὲν τρόπον ἡ δραματικὴ περιπέτεια, καθὼ καὶ τραγικὴν καὶ κωμικὴν ὑπόθεσιν εἶναι λέγομεν καὶ Δικαίάρχου τινὰς ὑποθέσεις τῶν Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους μύθων, οὐκ ἄλλο τι καλοῦντες ὑπόθεσιν ἢ τὴν τοῦ δράματος περιπέτειαν.

5 *Sophocles*, TrGF T153 Radt

- 113 Hypothesis Sophocles *Aiacis* (OCT p.1.11–13 Pearson)

Δικαίάρχος δὲ Αἴαντος θάνατον ἐπιγράφει. ἐν δὲ ταῖς Διδασκαλίαις ψιλῶς Αἴας ἀναγράφεται.

1–2 *Aristoteles*, fr. 623 Rose³

- 114 Hypothesis *Rhesus* 1.26 (BT p.4.3–12 Zanetto)

τοῦτο τὸ δρᾶμα ἔνιοι νόθον ὑπενόησαν ὥς οὐκ ὄν Εὐριπίδου· τὸν γὰρ Σοφοκλείου μᾶλλον ὑποφαίνει χαρακτήρα. ἐν μέντοι ταῖς Διδασκαλίαις ὥς γνήσιον ἀναγράφεται. καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰ μετάρσια δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πολυπραγμοσύνη τὸν Εὐριπίδην ὁμολογεῖ. πρόλογοι δὲ διττοὶ φέρονται. ὁ γοῦν Δικαίάρχος ἐκτιθεὶς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ 'Ρήσου γράφει κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως ('Ρῆσος, οὐ ἀρχή) "νῦν εὐσέληνον φέγγος ἡ διφρήλατος" καὶ * * * καὶ ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἕτερός τις φέρεται πρόλογος, πεξὸς πάνυ καὶ οὐ πρέπων Εὐριπίδῃ.

2 *Sophocles*, TrGF T129 Radt 3 *Aristoteles*, fr. 626 Rose³

1 ὥς οὐκ ὄν Εὐριπίδου HLPQ: Εὐριπίδου δὲ μὴ εἶναι V 3 Διδασκαλ[αι] διδασκαλίας Zanetto haud recte 4 post δὲ habet A ἐν αὐτῷ 5 Δικαίάρχος Nauck: δικαίαν VLP: omit. Q ἐκτιθεὶς V: ἐπιτιθεὶς LPC 6 'Ρῆσος οὐ ἀρχή supplevit Luppe (ZPE 84 [1990] 11–13): lacunam indicat Schwartz 7 * * *: τ.ἑ. supplevit Wilamowitz 8 φέρεται LPQ: φαίνεται V

Hypotheses

- 112 Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Mathematicians* 3.3 (BT v.3 p.107.11–17 Mau)

Hypothesis (summary) has been used in many other ways, but for the moment three ways of speaking are enough. According to one way, the *hypothesis* is the play's progression of incidents (*peripeteia*), just as we say that there is both a tragic and a comic *hypothesis*, and we speak of certain *Hypotheses of the Plots of Euripides and Sophocles* by Dicaearchus, calling a *hypothesis* nothing other than the progression of incidents of the play.

- 113 *Hypothesis of Sophocles' Ajax* (OCT p.1.11–13 Pearson)

Dicaearchus entitles (the play) *Death of Ajax*. But in the *Catalogues of the Dramas* simply *Ajax* has been recorded.

- 114 *Hypothesis of Rhesus* 1.26 (BT p.4.3–12 Zanetto)

Some suspect that this play is inauthentic, that it is not by Euripides, for it appears to be more Sophoclean in character. In the *Catalogues of the Dramas*, however, it is recorded as genuine. The keen interest in astronomical matters in it confirms Euripides. There are double prologues. Indeed, Dicaearchus in setting down the *hypothesis* of the *Rhesus* word for word writes as follows <"Rhesus, which begins" 'now the chariot-born (goddess brings) moonlit splendour'" and * * * and in some of the copies another prologue is reported which is entirely prosaic and uncharacteristic of Euripides.¹

¹ The extant manuscripts of the play do not use either of the prologues cited by the *Hypothesis*.

115A Hypothesis Euripidis *Alcestis* (OCT t.1 p.33.3–14 Diggle)

ὑπόθεσις Ἀλκήστιδος Δικαιάρχου
 Ἀπόλλων ἡτήσατο παρὰ τῶν Μοιρῶν ὅπως Ἄδμητος
 τελευτᾶν μέλλων παρὰσχη τὸν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκόντα
 τεθνηξόμενον, ἵνα ἴσον τῷ προτέρῳ χρόνον ζήσῃ. καὶ δὴ
 Ἀλκήστις, ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἀδμήτου, ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτήν, οὐδετέρου
 τῶν γονέων ἐθελήσαντος ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθανεῖν. μετ' οὐ
 πολὺ δὲ ταύτης τῆς συμφορᾶς γενομένης Ἡρακλῆς παρα-
 γενόμενος καὶ μαθὼν παρὰ τινος θεράποντος τὰ περὶ τὴν
 Ἀλκήστιν ἐπορεύθη ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον καὶ Θάνατον ἀποστήναι
 ποιήσας ἐσθῆτι καλύπτει τὴν γυναῖκα, τὸν δὲ Ἄδμητον ἡξίου
 λαβόντα τηρεῖν. εἰληφέναι γὰρ αὐτὴν πάλιν ἄθλον ἔλεγεν. μὴ
 βουλομένου δὲ ἐκείνου ἀποκαλύψας ἔδειξεν ἣν ἐπένθει.

1 Δικαιάρχου *addidit Triclinius L* 2–12 *schol. in Platonis Symp. 179B*

115B Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 2457 (*Philologus* 126 [1982] 14 Luppe)

(Ἡρακλῆς) κατέλυσεν παρὰ τῷ Ἀδμή-
 [τω. ὁ δ' ἔκρυπεν τὴν συ]μφορὰν, ὅ[πως αὐτὸν μὴ]
 [ἀπελάσῃ, καὶ μεθ' ὑπερ]οχῆς αὐτ[ὸν ἐξένισεν.]
 [ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτος ἰδὼν δεδ]ακρυμέν[ους τοὺς πε-]
 [ρὶ τὸν Ἄδμητον ἔ]μαθεν παρ[ὰ τινος τὰ πε-]
 [ρὶ τὴν Ἀλκήστιν, παρ]αγενόμεν[ος ἐπὶ τὸν]
 [τάφον αὐτῆς ἐποίησε]ν τὸν Θάν[ατον ἀποστή-]
 ναι. ἀνεβίω μὲν οὖν ἡ ν[εκρὰ καὶ τ]
 []λα ... []
 []τὴν Ἀλκήστι[ν]
 ἐσθῆτι σ]υγκαλύ[ψας αὐτὴν]
 [τὸν Ἄδμητον ἡξίωσ]ε λαβόντ[α τηρεῖν.]
 [εἰληφέναι γὰρ αὐτὴ]ν πάλιν ἄθ[λον ἔφησεν.]
 [ἐκείνου δὲ τῆς συνεύ]νου χάριν τα[ύτην λα-]
 [βεῖν μὴ βου.λομένου] ἐκκαλύψα[ς ἔδειξεν]
 [ἣν ἐπ]ένθ[ει.]

2 ἔκρυπεν *vel* ἔκρυπτεν *Luppe*

115A Hypothesis of Euripides' *Alcestis* (OCT v.1 p.33.3–14 Diggle)

Dicaearchus' *Hypothesis of Alcestis*.

Apollo had asked from the Fates that Admetus, who was about to die, might provide someone willing to die on his behalf, so that he might live a time equal to what (he would have lived) before. However, Alcestis, the wife of Admetus, gave herself, since neither of his parents were willing to die for their son. Not long after this misfortune, Heracles came by and, after learning from a servant what happened concerning Alcestis, went to her grave and, having made Death restore the woman, dressed her in disguised clothing. Then he asked Admetus to take her to watch over; for he said that he had won her as a wrestling prize. But when (Admetus) did not wish (to take her), (Heracles) revealed her and showed that it was the woman he was mourning.

115B Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 2457 (*Philologus* 126 [1982] 14 Luppe)

Heracles stayed at Admetus' palace, but Admetus hid his misfortune in order not to drive Heracles away, and gave him exaggerated hospitality. But when Heracles saw Admetus' attendants in tears and learned from one of them the news concerning Alcestis, he went to her grave and made Death restore her. The corpse did indeed come back to life and . . .
 . . . he disguised Alcestis with clothing and demanded that Admetus take her to guard. For he said that he had won her as a wrestling prize. When, for the sake of his wife, Admetus did not wish to take her, Heracles revealed her and showed that she was the woman that he was mourning.

Geographia

- 115 Plinius in primo libro *Naturalis historiae* materiam ex Dicaearchi scriptis in his libris componendis se desumpsisse asseverat:

lib. 2] NH 1.[2] (CB t.1 p.61.28 Beaujeu)

lib. 4] NH 1.[4] (CB t.1 p.64.8 Beaujeu)

lib. 5] NH 1.[5] (CB t.1 p.66.2 Beaujeu)

lib. 6] NH 1.[6] (CB t.1 p.67.34 Beaujeu)

- 117 Strabo, *Geographica* 1.1.1 (CB t.1 p.1.1–10 Lasserre)

τῆς τοῦ φιλοσόφου πραγματείας εἶναι νομίζομεν, εἴπερ ἄλλην τινά, καὶ τὴν γεωγραφικὴν . . . οἱ τε γὰρ πρῶτοι θαρρήσαντες αὐτῆς ἄψασθαι τοιοῦτοί τινες ὑπῆρξαν, Ὅμηρός τε καὶ Ἀναξίμανδρος ὁ Μιλήσιος καὶ Ἑκαταῖος ὁ πολίτης αὐτοῦ, καθὼς καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης φησί καὶ Δημόκριτος δὲ καὶ Εὐδόξος καὶ Δικαίαρχος καὶ Ἐφορος καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους, ἔτι δὲ οἱ μετὰ τούτους, Ἐρατοσθένης τε καὶ Πολύβιος καὶ Ποσειδώνιος, ἄνδρες φιλόσοφοι.

4 Anaximander, FVS 12A6 Hecataeus, FGrH 1 T 11a 5 Democritus, FVS 68B15 Eudoxus, fr. 273b Lasserre 6 Ephorus, FGrH 70 T 19 7 Posidonius, T75 Edelstein et Kidd

- 118 Plinius, *Naturalis historia* 2.162 (BT t.1 p.188.23–189.4 Mayhoff)

globum tamen effici mirum est in tanta planitie maris camporumque. cui sententiae adest Dicaearchus vir in primis eruditus regum cura permensus montis, ex quibus altissimum prodidit Pelion MCCL passuum, ratione perpendiculari nullam esse eam portionem universae rotunditatis colligens.

- 119 Geminus, *Elementa astronomiae* 17.5 (CB p.84.12–15 Aujac)

καὶ ἔστι μὲν τῆς Κυλλήνης τὸ ὕψος ἑλασσον σταδίων ιε', ὡς Δικαίαρχος ἀναμετρηκὼς ἀποφαίνεται· τοῦ δὲ Ἀταβυρίου

Geography

- 116 Pliny in the first book of the *Natural History* says that he has taken material from Dicaearchus in composing the following books:

Book 2] NH 1.[2] (CB v.1 p. 61.28 Beaujeu)

Book 4] NH 1.[4] (CB v.1 p. 64.8 Beaujeu)

Book 5] NH 1.[5] (CB v.1 p. 66.2 Beaujeu)

Book 6] NH 1.[6] (CB v.1 p. 67.34 Beaujeu)

- 117 Strabo, *Geography* 1.1.1 (CB v.1 p.1.1–10 Lasserre)

We believe that geography belongs to the activity of a philosopher, if any (activity) does. . . . For the first to dare to touch upon it were people like Homer and Anaximander the Milesian and Hecataeus his fellow citizen, as Eratosthenes too says, and Democritus and Eudoxus and Dicaearchus and Ephorus and many others. Even after them there were philosophers like Eratosthenes, Polybius and Posidonius (doing geography).

- 118 Pliny, *Natural History* 2.162 (BT v.1 p.188.23–189.4 Mayhoff)

It is nevertheless amazing that in such a great level expanse of sea and fields a sphere is created. Dicaearchus supports this view, a man among the first in learning. Under the patronage of kings he measured the height of mountains and reported that the highest is Mount Pelion at 1250 paces. He concluded from the calculation of the vertical that this proportion amounted to nothing compared to the entire roundness (of the earth).

- 119 Geminus, *Elements of Astronomy* 17.5 (CB p.84.12–15 Aujac)

The height of Cyllene is less than fifteen stades, as Dicaearchus has shown by measurement. The vertical drop of Mount Ataburius

ἐλάσσων ἐστὶν ἢ κάθετος σταδίων η'.

1 cf. Strabonem 8.1

2 Δικαίαρχος AC: Δικέαρχος B ἀναμετρηκῶς Manitius: ἀναμετρικῶς codd. Ἀταβυρίου Pet.: Σαταβυρίου codd. 3 η' Aujac: ,δ' (?) ABC: 10 (sic) Lat. transl.

- 120 Theon Smyrnaeus, De utilitate mathematicae (p.124.19–125.1 Hiller)

⟨δέκα δὲ σταδίων ἐστὶν ἡ⟩ τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων ὄρων πρὸς τὰ χθαμαλώτατα τῆς γῆς ὑπεροχὴ κατὰ κάθετον, καθὰ Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ Δικαίαρχος εὐρηκέναι φασίν, καὶ ὀργανικῶς δὲ ταῖς τὰ ἐξ ἀποστημάτων μεγέθη μετρούσαις διόπτραις τηλικαῦτα θεωρεῖται.

1 cf. Plutarchi Vitam Aemiliani 15

1 δέκα . . . ἡ supplevit Martin

- 121 Martianus Capella, De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii 6.590–1 (p.292.16–293.3 Dick)

formam totius terrae non planam, ut aestimant, positioni qui eam disci diffusioris assimulant, neque concavam, ut alii, qui descendere imbrem dixere telluris in gremium, sed rotundam, globosam etiam
591 [sicut Secundus] Dicaearchus asseverat. namque ortus obitusque siderum non diversus pro terrae elatione vel inclinationibus haberetur, si per plana diffusis mundanae constitutionis operibus uno eodemque tempore supra terras et aequora nituissent aut item, si emersi solis exortus concavis subductionis terrae latebris abderetur.

3 cf. Arist., De caelo 2.14 297a8

4 sicut Secundus (i.e. Plinius) ut glossema delevit Dick: sicut secundum Dicaearchum asseverant Eyssh. 5 elatione] elevatione Wehrli

is less than eight stades.

- 120 Theon of Smyrna, Exposition of Mathematics (p.124.19–125.1 Hiller)

The vertical difference between the highest mountains and the lowest points of the earth is less <than ten stades>, as Eratosthenes and Dicaearchus claim to have discovered. Such great amounts are observed mechanically by means of optical devices measuring the magnitudes from intervals.

- 121 Martianus Capella, On the Marriage of Philology and Mercury 6.590–1 (p.292.16–293.3 Dick)

The shape of the entire earth is not flat, as some suppose who liken it to the position of an expanded disk. Nor is it concave, as others (say), who have said that rain descends into the “lap of earth,”
591 but it is rounded, even spherical, as Dicaearchus had claimed. For the rising and the settings of the stars would not vary according to the elevation or inclinations of the earth if the activities of the heavenly firmament were spread out across flat surfaces and at one and the same time they shone above the lands and waters, or likewise, if the rising of the emerging sun were concealed by the concave shadows of the depressed land.

- 122 Agathemerus, *Geographiae informatio*, prooemion 2 (GRBS 1.16 [1975] p.60.24–8 Diller)

οἱ μὲν οὖν παλαιοὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔγραφον στρογγύλην, μέσσην δὲ κεῖσθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ταύτης Δελφούς, τὸν ὀμφαλὸν γὰρ ἔχειν τῆς γῆς. πρῶτος δὲ Δημόκριτος, πολὺπειρος ἀνὴρ, συνείδεν ὅτι προμήκης ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ, ἡμιόλιον τὸ μήκος τοῦ πλάτους ἔχουσα. συνήνεσε τούτῳ καὶ Δικαίάρχος ὁ Περιπατητικὸς.

2 δὲ κεῖσθαι Gronovius: δ' ἡγεῖσθαι codd. et Diller 3 Democritus, FVS 68A94

- 123 Agathemerus, *Geographiae informatio*, prooemion 5 (GRBS 1.16 [1975] p.61.13–16 Diller)

Δικαίάρχος δὲ ὀρίζει τὴν γῆν οὐχ ὕδασιν, ἀλλὰ τομῇ εὐθείᾳ εὐκράτῳ ἀπὸ στηλῶν διὰ Σαρδοῦς Σικελίας Πελοποννήσου Ἰωνίας Καρίας Λυκίας Παμφυλίας Κιλικίας καὶ Ταύρου ἕως Ἰμάου ὄρους. τῶν τοίνυν τόπων τὸν μὲν βόρειον, τὸν δὲ νότιον ὀνομάζει.

2 εὐκράτῳ B: ἀκράτῳ edd. 3 Ἰωνίας del. Gronovius

- 124 Strabo, *Geographica* 2.4.1–3 (CB t.1 p.70.5–73.2 Lasserre)

Πολύβιος δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην χωρογραφῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀρχαίους ἔαν φησι, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνους ἐλέγχοντας ἐξετάζειν Δικαίάρχον τε καὶ Ἐρατοσθένη τὸν τελευταῖον πραγματευσάμενον περὶ γεωγραφίας καὶ Πυθέαν, ὑφ' οὗ παρακρουσθῆναι πολλούς. ... πολὺ δέ φησι βέλτιον τῷ Μεσσηνίῳ πιστεύειν ἢ τούτῳ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἰς μίαν χώραν τὴν Παγχαίαν λέγει πλεῦσαι, ὁ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῶν τοῦ κόσμου περάτων κατωπευκέναι τὴν προσάρκτιον τῆς Εὐρώπης πᾶσαν. ... Ἐρατοσθένη δὲ τὸν μὲν Εὐήμερον Βεργαῖον καλεῖν, Πυθέα δὲ πιστεύειν, καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲ Δικαίάρχου πιστεύσαντος. τὸ μὲν οὖν μηδὲ Δικαίάρχου πιστεύσαντος γελοῖον, ὥσπερ ἐκείνῳ κανόνι χρῆσασθαι προσήκον, καθ' οὗ τοσούτους ἐλέγχους αὐτὸς προφέρεται. Ἐρατοσθένους δὲ εἴρηται ἢ περὶ τὰ ἐσπέρια καὶ τὰ ἀρκτικά τῆς Εὐρώπης ἄγνοια.

- 122 Agathemerus, *Sketch of Geography*, Proem 2 (GRBS v.16 [1975] p.60.24–8 Diller)

Therefore the ancients wrote that the inhabited region is circular, that Greece lay in its middle and Delphi in (Greece's) middle. For it holds the navel of the earth. Democritus, a very learned man, was the first to see that the earth is oblong, having a length one and a half times the width, and Dicaearchus the Peripatetic agreed with him.

- 123 Agathemerus, *Sketch of Geography*, Proem 5 (GRBS v.16 [1975] p.61.13–16 Diller)

Dicaearchus divides the earth not by waters, but by a straight, proportioned cut from the Pillars through Sardinia, Sicily, Peloponnesus, Ionia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Cilicia and Taurus in turn until Mount Imaus. In terms of these places, therefore, he applied the names North and South.

- 124 Strabo, *Geography* 2.4.1–3 (CB v.1 p.70.5–73.2 Lasserre)

In writing his geography of Europe, Polybius says he passes over the ancient geographers but examines those who criticize them, Dicaearchus and Eratosthenes, the last to have been active concerning geography, and Pytheas, by whom (Polybius says) many have been misled. ... (Polybius) says it is much better to believe (Euhemerus) the Messanian than (Pytheas). (Euhemerus), you see, claims that he sailed only to one country, Panchaea, whereas Pytheas claims that he saw for himself the whole northern region of Europe up to the limits of the world... Eratosthenes calls Euhemerus a storyteller and he believes Pytheas, although not even Dicaearchus believed these things. However, that phrase "although not even Dicaearchus believed," is ridiculous; as if it were fitting for Eratosthenes to use that man as a standard, against whom he himself directs so many criticisms. Eratosthenes' ignorance concerning the western and northern parts of Europe has already been stated.

ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν καὶ Δικαιάρχῳ συγγνώμη, τοῖς μὴ κατιδοῦσι
τοὺς τόπους ἐκείνους. Πολυβίῳ δὲ καὶ Ποσειδωνίῳ τίς ἂν
συγγοίη; ἀλλὰ μὴν Πολύβιός γέ ἐστιν ὁ λαοδογματικὰς καλῶν
ἀποφάσεις, ἃς ποιοῦνται περὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις
διαστημάτων καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν οἷς ἐκείνους
ἐλέγχει καθαρεύων. τοῦ γοῦν Δικαιάρχου μυρίους μὲν εἰπόντος
τοὺς ἐπὶ στήλας ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου σταδίους, πλείους δὲ
τούτων τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν μέχρι τοῦ μυχοῦ, τοῦ δ' ἐπὶ στήλας
τὸ μέχρι τοῦ πορθμοῦ τρισχιλίους ἀποδόντος, ὡς γίνεσθαι τὸ
λοιπὸν ἑπτακισχιλίους τὸ ἀπὸ πορθμοῦ μέχρι στηλῶν. τοὺς μὲν
τρисχιλίους εἰς φησιν, εἴτ' εὖ λαμβάνονται εἴτε μή. τοὺς δ'
ἑπτακισχιλίους οὐδετέρως, οὐδὲ τὴν παραλίαν ἐκμετροῦνται,
οὔτε τὴν διὰ μέσου τοῦ πελάγους. . . . προστεθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ
τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἐπὶ τὸν πορθμὸν τρισχιλίων, οἱ σύμπαντες
ἔσονται στάδιοι, αὐτοὶ ἐπ' εὐθείας, πλείους ἢ διπλάσιοι ὧν
Δικαιάρχος εἶπε. πλείους δὲ τούτων τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν μυχὸν τὸν
Ἀδριατικὸν δεήσει, φησί, τιθέναι κατ' ἐκείνον.

- 3 ἀλλ' ὦ φίλε Πολύβιε, φαίη τις ἂν, ὥσπερ τούτου τοῦ
ψεύσματος ἐναργῆ παρίστησι τὸν ἔλεγχον ἢ πείρα ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὧν
εἴρηκας αὐτός. . . . οὕτως κακεῖνα ψεύσματα ἐστὶν ἀμφοτέρω,
καὶ ὁ Δικαιάρχος εἶπε, τὸ ἀπὸ πορθμοῦ ἐπὶ Στήλας εἶναι σταδίων
ἑπτακισχιλίων, καὶ ὃ σὺ δοκεῖς ἀποδεῖξαι.

1 Polybius 34.1.1–6 Büttner et Wobst 3 Eratosthenes, fr. 2 Berger 4 Pythias,
fr. 7a Mette 14 Posidonius, T25 Edelstein et Kidd

9 μηδὲ Meineke: δὲ μήτε codd. et Lasserre 10 μηδὲ Meineke: μήτε codd.
16 λαοδογματικὰς Tyrwhitt: ὅλας δογματικὰς Aω' 17 ποιοῦνται Graskind:
ποιρῖται Aω'

125 Strabo, Geographica 3.5.5 (CB t.2 p.87.11–13 Lasserre)

Δικαιάρχος δὲ καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ Πολύβιος καὶ οἱ
πλείστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων περὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἀποφαίνονται τὰς
στήλας.

1 Polybius, 34.9.4

But while pardon may be allowed to him and Dicaearchus because
they had not seen those regions, who would pardon Polybius and
Posidonius? It is in fact Polybius who calls the statements made by
them concerning the distances in those regions and many other re-
gions 'folk wisdom', though he does not get clear (himself) the
points which he criticizes. Now Dicaearchus estimates the distance
from the Peloponnesus to the Pillars at ten thousand stadia, and
(from the Peloponnesus) to the recess of the Adriatic sea at more
than this, and when he reckons the part up to the Straights (of Sic-
ily) at three thousand stadia, the rest from the Straights to the Pil-
lars becomes seven thousand stadia. (Polybius) says that he disre-
gards the three thousand—whether or not they are correctly ac-
cepted—but in no way does he allow the seven thousand, neither
measuring by the shoreline nor through the middle of the sea. . . .
If the three thousand from the Peloponnesus to the straight were
added, the entire number of stades, those alone that follow a straight
line, will be more than double what Dicaearchus said; and, says
(Polybius), according to (Dicaearchus) the number of stades (from
the Peloponnesus) to the recess of the Adriatic will need to be more
than this.

- 3 But my dear Polybius, one might say, just as the test of these
things, which you yourself have stated, furnishes the clear refuta-
tion of this falsity, . . . so also both those others are false, what
Dicaearchus said, namely, that the distance from the Straight to the
Pillars is seven thousand stades, and what you think you demon-
strate.

125 Strabo, Geographica 3.5.5 (CB v.2 p.87.11–13 Lasserre)

Dicaearchus and Eratosthenes and Polybius and most of the
Greeks represent the Pillars (of Heracles) as near the Strait (of
Gibraltar).

126 Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus* 4.107 (BT p.147.1–3 Wünsch)

ἀλλὰ καὶ Δικαίαρχος ἐν Περιόδῳ γῆς ἐκ τῆς Ἀτλαντικῆς
θαλάττης τὸν Νεῖλον ἀναχεῖσθαι βούλεται.

1–2 *Seneca, Naturales quaestiones* 4a fr. 6 (BT p.189.1–2 Hine); cf. *Lucan, Pharsalia* 10.255–7

127 Stobaeus, *Anthologium* 1.38.2 (t.1 p.252.13–17 Wachsmuth)

〈Δικαίαρχος ὁ Μεσσῆνιος ἡλίῳ καὶ τὸς τὴν αἰτίαν ἀνατίθῃσι,
καθ' οὓς μὲν ἂν τόπους γένηται τῆς γῆς πλημμύροντι τὰ πελάγη,
ἐξ ὧν δ' ἂν τύχη παραποστὰς ὑποσυνέλκοντι. ταῦτα δὲ
συμβαίνειν περὶ τὰς ἑώας καὶ τὰς μεσημβρινὰς ἐκκλίσεις.〉

1 Δικαίαρχος ὁ Μεσσ *Meineke, Diels*: 〈Εὐ)ῆνιος *Wachsmuth*: . . . ηνιος *D.* 4
περὶ *Meineke*: παρὰ *codd.*

126 John of Lydia, *On Months* 4.107 (BT p.147.1–3 Wünsch)

But even Dicaearchus in the *Circuit of the Earth* wants the Nile
to take its rise from the Atlantic ocean.

127 Stobaeus, *Selections* 1.38.2 (v.1 p.252.13–17 Wachsmuth)

(Dicaearchus) the Messanian also himself refers the cause to
the sun, which causes the seas to overflow in whatever areas of the
earth they are, and draws them away with itself from the places it
recedes from on each occasion. These things occur around the morn-
ing and the noon shifts.

CONCORDANCES

F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles, Texte und Kommentar*, Band I, *Dikaiarchos* Basel, Schwabe, 1967. 2nd edition.

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C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*. vol. 2. pp. 225-68.
Paris: Didot, 1848 (repr. 1975).

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2

Dicaearchus on the Soul and on Divination

R. W. Sharples

The problem I wish to discuss in this paper¹ can be stated simply enough. On the one hand, Dicaearchus is reported in some texts as having denied the very existence of the soul. On the other, he is said to have given the soul a part to play in divination. How are these conflicting reports to be reconciled?

The question is a significant one for several interlocking reasons. There has been much discussion in recent years² of Aristotle's position on what for us is the "mind-body" problem, but in the context of Aristotle's thought (leaving aside, for the moment only, the Active Intellect) rather the "soul-body" problem.³ That discussion has in part been

¹ This paper was given successively at the Boulder conference on Demetrius and Dicaearchus, and to a seminar at the University of Edinburgh; I am grateful to all who contributed to the discussion, and especially to Victor Caston, who was the respondent at the conference, and to Jeff Carr, Paolo Crivelli, Bill Fortenbaugh, David Robinson and Dory Scaltsas.

² Comprehensively represented by the papers in M. C. Nussbaum and A. O. Rorty (eds.), *Essays on Aristotle's De Anima* (Oxford, 1992).

³ The modern statement of the problem in terms of *mind* being above all due to Descartes; cf. Michael Frede, "On Aristotle's Conception of the Soul," in Nussbaum and Rorty (above, n. 2) 93-107, at 93-94.